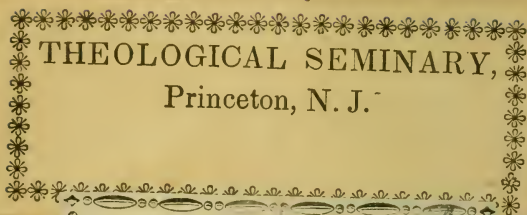
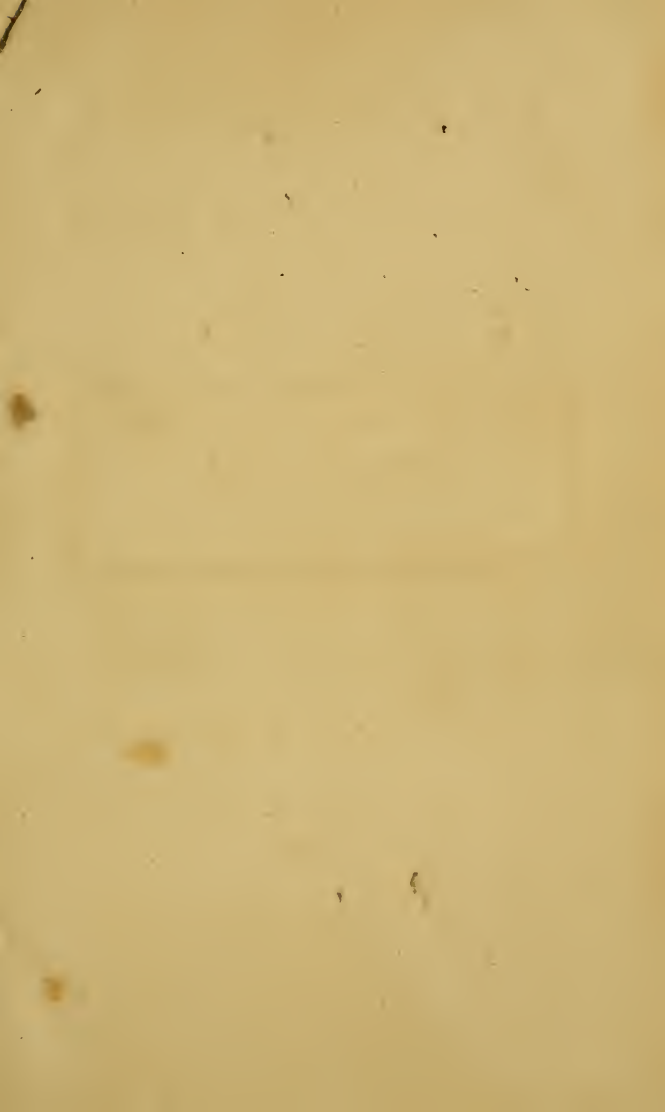


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The Biblical geography of
Central Asia









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VOL. XI.

BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

EDINBURGH:
THOMAS CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET;

J. G. & F. RIVINGTON, LONDON;
AND W. CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN.

MDCCCXXXVI.

THE
BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY
OF
CENTRAL ASIA:

WITH
A GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SACRED
GEOGRAPHY, INCLUDING THE ANTEDILUVIAN PERIOD.

BY THE LATE
E. F. C. ROSENMÜLLER, D.D.

ORDINARY PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LANGUAGES IN THE
UNIVERSITY OF LEIPSIC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN, BY THE

REV. N. MORREN, A. M.

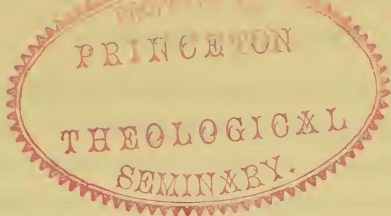
WITH NOTES BY THE TRANSLATOR.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
THOMAS CLARK, 33. GEORGE STREET.

MDCCCXXXVI.



TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

I CANNOT better introduce this work to the notice of English readers, than in the words of Dr. Edward Wells, in the preface to his *Historical Geography of the Old and New Testament* :

“ In the Sacred Scriptures there are distinguishable these two General Parts, a *Doctrinal* and an *Historical*. Of these, the *Doctrinal* being of infinitely the highest concern, requires therefore our far greater study and application. However, this hinders not but that we may, and that very commendably too, spend some time and thoughts on the other ; it being but reasonable to think, that what the wisdom of God has judged fit to make *part of his word*, we may judge fit to make *part of our study*.”

A well-grounded and thorough acquaintance with Scripture Geography will be found a more

needful help to the Bible scholar, than might at first be supposed. It is, moreover, a study, which, from the variety of interesting topics with which it is conversant, possesses peculiar attractions to an inquisitive mind ;—and it is therefore to be regretted, that, like most other branches of exegetical inquiry, it has not hitherto received in this country that attention which its importance demands. While the profane geography of the ancients has been illustrated by the labours of such men as *Rennell* and *Vincent*,—"the geography of the Hebrews," as a field of critical investigation, has been allowed to lie comparatively neglected. Of this there can be no evidence more conclusive than the fact, that with no lack of meagre outlines, and popular, but superficial sketches—the *only standard treatise in our language* on what may be called the *General Geography of the Bible*, is the above mentioned work of *Wells*. Nearly a hundred and thirty years have now elapsed since its first appearance ; and, though often reprinted, it has commonly been without emendation or addition.^a During that period much

^a The only exception with which I am acquainted, is the 4to Edition, by *Mr. Charles Taylor*, the author of the

additional light has been thrown on many points in Archæology, by the opening up of new Oriental sources—by the observations of travellers, the criticism of philologists, and the miscellaneous researches of the learned. Hence it has long been my conviction, that there is no greater desideratum in our theological literature, than a full and scientific system of sacred geography, adapted to the present advanced state of hermeneutical studies—such a work as the illustrious Bochart would have given to the world, had he lived in the nineteenth instead of the seventeenth century.^a

Among our indefatigable and erudite neigh-

“Fragments to Calmet,”—whose additions, however, are chiefly in illustration of his favourite but fanciful hypothesis, that Eden, Ararat, &c. lay towards India.

^a A great part of the Old Testament Geography of Wells, is but an abstract of the “Phaleg” and “Canaan,” of Bochart,—“the most learned man of the most learned age that has yet appeared.” It is no small proof of the esteem in which his writings are still held by competent judges, that the subject for the prize essay, proposed last year (1835) by Gesenius to the students at Halle, was *De Vitâ et Meritis Bocharti*. He was the first who profoundly investigated what it has been customary to call, since the days of Michaelis, the *Exterior* or *Foreign* Geography of the Jews—having done for it what *Reland* afterwards did for the *Domestic* Geography of Palestine.

bours, the Germans, the most recent, as well as most approved work on this subject, is the "Biblical Geography" of Rosenmüller.^a The author was a son of the well-known scholiast on the New Testament, and has himself written voluminous but incomplete scholia upon the Old. After a long and laborious life, devoted to the pursuit of Oriental and Biblical learning, he died at Leipsic on the 17th September 1835. Among other literary projects, he had contemplated the embodying of the results of his study of the sacred volume into one comprehensive scheme of "Biblical Antiquities;" but he only lived to complete the portions which relate to geography and natural history—the former in five, the latter in two divisions.

It is proposed to present, in this and a subsequent volume of the Biblical Cabinet, the first

^a The only systematic production of much authority, previous to the appearance of this of Rosenmüller, was the *Handbuch* (i. e. Manual) of Bellermann. Professor Stuart, in his Translation of Ernesti's *Institutes*, characterizes it as "a classical and excellent work, which, it is hoped, will soon be translated into English." Whatever is valuable in Bellermann, has either been retained by Rosenmüller, or is now given by me in the additional Notes.

two parts ^a of his “Geography”—omitting only the introductory matter, with which it has no immediate connection. I have selected the designation of “Central Asia” as a general title for these volumes, because all the countries described belong to that quarter of the world, taking the term in its most extensive latitude. To the same region also belongs the “antediluvian geography” contained in the second chapter; while chapters I. and III. may be considered as forming a useful introduction to the whole.

A translator's testimony in favour of his author, is commonly received with suspicion. Yet may I in truth affirm, that had I not been persuaded that this work is fitted to be eminently useful in the most important of all studies,—the study of the word of God,—I would have spared myself a translator's inglorious task. I am much deceived in my estimate of these volumes, if the reader shall find any thing pertaining to the Biblical Geography, Topography and History of Central Asia—the cradle of the human race—either dismissed with a cursory notice, or assert-

^a They make up his first *Volume*, which consists of these two *Tomes* or divisions, but with a common Index, &c.

ed without sufficient proof.^a If the writer errs, it is in the fashion of his conscientious, thorough-going countrymen,—more in the way of excess than of defect. And this redundancy may well be forgiven, when it is found to have enriched his work with so much curious and interesting matter—a great portion of which, it is believed, will be altogether new to English readers.

If the author has been thus copious in his illustrations, there may seem the less occasion for any additions by the translator. But when it is considered, that upwards of twelve years have passed since the publication of the original, it will be seen, that many books must have appeared, both in this country and on the Continent,^b from which old opinions may be rectified or new elucidations drawn; and it is to such

^a That Rosenmüller's Biblical Geography is now the classical and standard work among the Germans, may be seen from *Fuhrmann's Handbuch der Neuesten Theologischen Literatur* (a Bibliographical Guide, brought down to the end of 1835), Part I. p. 120. A review of the present volume, by Gesenius, appeared in the *Allgem. Lit. Zeitung* of Halle, for the year 1825.

^b One of the most curious of these is that part of the Geographical work of Abulfeda, which relates to Irāk, Khuzistān, Adherbijān, &c. edited for the first time in Arabic and Latin, by Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1835. The Irāk in question is

points that the translator's annotations are chiefly confined. The quantity of supplemental matter thus furnished by him, will be found to be very considerable. He is accountable for the whole of what is headed "Appendix"—for the foot-notes signed M.—and for the occasional explanatory clauses inclosed in brackets []. Yet, with all these extensive additions, the entire work will be made accessible to students, at not much more than *half* the cost of the original German.

Notwithstanding the great number of Hebrew, Arabic, and other Eastern characters which occur throughout the present volume, I trust little or nothing will be detected in the printing to offend greatly the eye of the most fastidious Orientalist. For valuable assistance in carrying it through the press, as well as for several important contributions to the notes, I have been indebted to my learned

عراق بابل Arabian Irāk, otherwise called

i. e. Babylonia ; for his description of عراق اعجمي Irāk

Adjemi, or Persian Irāk (the Great Media of the ancients)

had been previously published by Uylenbroek, at Leyden, in

1822. *Gibbon*, in his account of the expedition of the Empe-

ror Julian into Babylonia, after giving a description of the

country from the best authorities, adds in a note : " I regret

much that the *Irak Arabi* of Abulfeda has not been translat-

ed."—Hist. ch. XXIV.

friend, the Rev. John Duncan, of Milton Church, Glasgow, whose attainments in the philology and literature of the East are of no common order, and are equalled only by his acumen as a metaphysician, and his worth as a Christian.

In looking forward to the future advancement of the multifarious studies connected with Biblical Archæology, I anticipate no small benefit to result from the spirited exertions of the Oriental Translation Committee :—while, at the same time, I must regret that means are not taken to have their publications better known, and more widely circulated. Among the works which have appeared under their countenance, having a special reference to the subject of these volumes, may be mentioned the translations of the *Sháh Náme* of Firdausi, by *Atkinson* ; of Mirkhond's *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, by *Shea* ; of the *Geography of Sádik Isfaháni*, by *Ouseley* ; and of the *History of Vartan* and other works on Armenia, by *Neumann*.

GREENOCK,
March 1, 1836.

[The great quantity of Arabic and other Oriental letters which occur in this work, having occasioned a great additional expense in printing it, a small increase of the price is rendered quite indispensable.]

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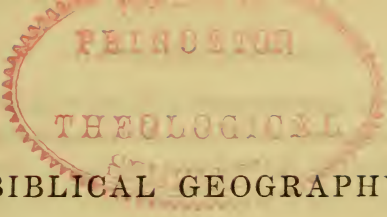
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^a The reader will observe that the Appendices to the first three Chapters immediately follow the Chapter to which they severally belong ; but as new matter came to hand while the work was going through the press, it was deemed advisable to place the Addenda, with the rest of the Appendices, at the end of the volume. Any inconvenience which might have resulted from this arrangement will be obviated by a reference to the prefixed Table of Contents, or to the copious Indices, which will be given with the Second Volume.

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BIBLICAL GEOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER I.

OF THE EARTH GENERALLY.

§ 1.—THE FIGURE OF THE EARTH.¹

THE idea which the ancient Hebrews had of the figure of the earth, can only be conjectured from incidental hints occasionally given in scripture. The prophet Isaiah, (ch. xl. 22) when describing the greatness of the true God, the Creator of the universe, in contrast with the impotence of idols, says, “Jehovah is enthroned high above the *circle² of the earth*, and stretcheth out the heaven as a carpet.” Eternal wisdom, personified in Prov. viii. 27, says, he was present when the Creator *drew a circle upon the ocean* to be a boundary to the earth. In like manner, Job says (ch. xxvi. 10) that God *had drawn a circle on the surface of the water, where light ends in darkness,*^a that is, at the earth’s utmost limits. Ac-

^a The English version has, “until the day and night come to an end,” which conveys a different sense.—M.

according to another poet, (Ps. xxiv. 2) *Jehovah hath founded the earth upon the sea, and stablished it upon the floods.* In Ps. cxxxvi. 6, also, it is said, that God *has spread out the earth above the waters.* From these passages, taken together, we obtain the notion of the earth's disk as circular,³ rising out of the water, and surrounded with the ocean,⁴ the heaven being spread over it as a canopy. Though floating free in the boundless immensity of space,⁵ yet through the Creator's might, it remains firmly fixed, without moving.⁶ See Appendix A. p. 35.

1. The Hebrew names of the earth are: 1st, אֶרֶץ, *Eretz*. This is by far the most common designation, like the corresponding Arabic term, ^{أَرْض} اَرْض which, according to Firuzabadi, in his *Kamûs*,^a (Vol. I. p. 892, Calcutta Edit.) signifies ^{أَسْفَلَ قَوَائِمِ الدَّابَّةِ وَكُلِّ} اسفل قوائِم الدابة وكلّ ^{مَا سْفَلَ} ما سفَلَ the lowest part of an animal's foot, and generally, *whatever is below or under.* Hence, אֶרֶץ denotes the *earth* as the lower region, in opposition to the *heavens*, שָׁמַיִם, which word means properly the *upper regions*. 2d. אֲדָמָה *Adamah*, the distinctive name

^a Rosenmüller here refers to an Arabic Lexicon, entitled *The Kamoos*, i. e. the Ocean, by a native of Firuzabad, in Persia, who was born in the year of the Hegira 817. The first complete edition appeared at Calcutta in 1817, 2 vols. fol. It consists of 60,000 different articles, and yet the author speaks of it as only an abridgment of a larger work, in 60 volumes !—M

of *earth*, as an element (from אָדָם *adam*, *to be red* or *dusky*;) yet sometimes used of the terrestrial world, Gen. iv. 1; vi. 1; vii. 1. 3d. חֶבֶל *Tebel* is peculiar to poetic diction; perhaps, as Gesenius conjectures, from יָבֵל, *to bring forth*, thus pointing to the earth's fertility, as "the forth-bringer." See App. B. p. 35.

2. חֹוֹג, which word signifies, not a *globe*, but a *circle*, described on a plane surface, whence מִחוּגָה in Isa. xlv. 13, a *compass*.

3. This is not contradicted by the expressions, *the ends* or *borders* כִּנְפוֹת of the earth; (Job xxxvii. 3; xxxviii. 13,) or the *four ends* of the earth, Isa. xi. 12; Ezek. vii. 2. Gesenius, in his *Lexicon*, concluded from these phrases, that the Hebrews took the earth to be of a quadrangular form; as the Greeks, in the time of Eratosthenes, compared the shape of the inhabited earth to that of an out-spread *chlamys*, or cloak.^a Yet the same learned writer, in his *Commentary* on Isaiah, (ch. xi. 12) has retracted that opinion; for he remarks that the *four ends of the earth* are synonymous with the four quarters of the heavens, whence come the four winds. In that passage of Isaiah, the Chald. has "the four winds;" and in Rev. vii. 1, the τέσσαρες γωνίαι τῆς γῆς evidently correspond to the four winds of Dan. vii. 2.

4. The earth was likewise considered as an island by Aristotle (de Mundo. cap. 2,) and by Strabo, who says: (I. 1.) "Ὅτι δὲ ἡ οἰκζ�μένη νῆσός ἐστι, πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς αἰθῆρας, καὶ τῆς πείρας ληπτέον."

^a The *Chlamys* appears to have been of a wedge-like form. Cuper in his *Apotheos. Homeri*, p. 158, has given a figure of it, taken from *Ferrarius de Re Vestiaria*.—M.

5. Job xxvi. 7, *He stretcheth out the north over the void, and hangeth the earth upon nothing* על בלימה. The north, (*i. e.* the northern heavens, here used for the entire vault of the firmament,) is spread out over the air and ether. Ch. xxxviii 6: *Whereupon are its pillars sunk? who hath laid its corner-stone?* The idea that the earth hangs in empty space prevailed among the earlier Greeks, as we learn from *Lucretius*, ii. 600.

Hanc veteres Grajūm docti cecinere poetæ,
Aëris in spatio magnam pendere docentes
Tellurem, neque posse in terra sistere terram.

The last words are paraphrased by Creech: *neque terram super aliam terram, tanquam fundamentum, collocari.*^a To the same effect Ovid in his *Fasti*, vi. 269.

Terra pilæ similis, nullo fulcimine nixa,
Aëre subjecto tam grave pendet onus.

6. Ps. xciii. 1 and 1 Chron. xvii. 30. *Firmly fixed is the earth, it moveth not.* Ps. cxix. 90. *Thou hast established the earth, that it standeth fast.* Ps. civ. 5. *He hath founded the earth on its bases, that it moveth not for ever and ever.*

^a Mason Good translates:

——— in ether pois'd, she hangs,
Unpropt by aught beneath.

See his Notes to *Lucretius* here, and at v. 535. He regards this as one of the doctrines of the earliest Idumæan or Arabian cosmology, subsequently propagated throughout Greece.---M.

§ II.—GEOGRAPHICAL BEARINGS.

THE four cardinal points, east, west, south, north, are called in scripture the four *corners* (γωνίαι) of the earth, Rev. vii. 1; xx. 8; the four *ends* or *borders* (כנפות) of the earth, Isa. xi. 12; the four *ends* (קצות) of heaven, Jer. xlix. 36; the four *winds*¹ (רוחות) of heaven, 1 Chron. ix. 24. Zech. ii. 6; vi. 5. Matt. xxiv. 31. Mark xiii. 27. Job describes them (ch. xxiii. 8, 9) by the words *before* and *behind*, *right* and *left*. The origin of such phraseology is, that while in the projection of our maps, the spectator is supposed to be looking towards the *north*, among the Jews and other Orientals, the foundation of all geographical bearings is the idea of having the face directed toward *the rising sun*,² when we place the east *before* us, the west *behind* us, the south on our *right hand*, and the north on our *left*. Sometimes the sacred writers designate all the four quarters of the heavens by the two which lie opposite; thus the *east* and *west*, Isa. xlv. 6. Mal. i. 11. Ps. l. 1; lxxv. 7; cxiii. 3. Matt. viii. 11; the *north* and *south*, Isa. liv. 3. Zech. viii. 7; xii. 6. Ps. lxxxix. 13. See App. C. p. 36.

1. The *east* is termed the *rising* or *place of the rising* of the sun, מוֹצֵא הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ or מִזְרֵחַ הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ; also what lies *before the face* פָּנִים, (ex.

gr. על-פני מצרים) what is *before*, or on the fore-ground קדם *Kedem*.³ Thus, in Gen. xxv. 18, it is said, the Ishmaelites dwelt from Havilah unto Shur *in the face of Egypt*,^a *i. e.* to the east of Egypt. Comp. Gen. xvi. 7. Exod. xv. 22. 1 Sam. xv. 7. The Israelites encamped in the desert which is *in the face of Moab* (Numb. xxi. 11); it is added, “towards the sun rising.” Mount Abarim lay *in the face* of Jericho, Deut. xxxii. 49. In 1 Kings xi. 7, a hill is mentioned as being *before* Jerusalem, which from Zech. xiv. 4, is found to be the Mount of Olives. The *Fore Sea* (Ha-Yam Ha-Kadmoni) is the Dead Sea, which lies to the east of Jerusalem, Joel ii. 20. Zech. xiv. 8. Ezek. xlvi. 8. By *men of the east* are to be understood the inhabitants of Arabia and southern Chaldea, Palestine being the central point of view, Isa. ii. 6. Ezek. xxv. 4. 1 Kings iv. 30. Job i. 3. Matt. ii. 1.

2. The *west* was called by the Hebrews the *in-going of the sun*,⁴ מבוא השמש or *place of the in-going*, *i. e.* the setting of the sun: also *behind* or the *back ground*, אחר, אחרון. Thus of Machane-Dan (Dan's Camp) in Judges xviii. 12, it is said, that it lay *behind* or west of Kirjath-Jearim. On this account the Mediterranean was denominated the *Hinder Sea* (Ha-Yam Ha-Acharon,) *i. e.* the

^a The reader will do well to consult these passages where he will find our translators have missed the sense here given.---M.

Western, Deut. xi. 24; xxxii. 2. Joel ii. 20. Zech. xiv. 8. Yet it was often styled, by way of pre-eminence, “the sea;” and as it lay to the west, its name was sometimes employed to characterize western objects. The *wind of the sea* is the west wind, Exod. x. 19; *the side of* (i. e. towards) *the sea* is the west side, Exod. xxvii. 12; xxxviii. 12; *seaward* is westward, Gen. xxviii. 14. Exod. xxvi. 22.

3. The *south* was described, sometimes by the word *Negeb*, which properly signifies drought,⁵ a dry land; sometimes by *Darom*,⁶ i. e. the bright, sunny region; sometimes by *Teman* and *Yamin*,⁷ which both mean “lying to the right.” The boundary of Manasseh went *towards the right-hand*, i. e. to the south, as far as En-Tappuach, Josh. xvii. 7. There were high places before (i. e. east of) Jerusalem, on the *right-hand* (i. e. south) of Mount Maschith, 2 Kings xxiii. 13. The *right* side of the desert was the south part, 1 Sam. xxiii. 24. The south land *specially* was Egypt, Isa. xxx. 6. Jer. xiii. 19. Dan. xi. 5, 15, 29; but in Ezek. xx. 46, 47, it is Judea, from its position relative to Babylon.

4. To designate the *north*, they used the names *Zaphon*,⁸ i. e. the hidden, veiled, obscure region; and *Semol*,⁹ what lies to the *left*. Hobaah was situated on the *left*, i. e. the north of Damascus, Gen. xiv. 15. The borders of Asher extended to Chabal, to *the left* or in a northerly

direction, Josh. xix. 27. By the north country the prophets understand some tract to the north of Palestine, such as Syria, Dan. xi. 6—8, Assyria, Zeph. ii. 13, (comp. Judith xvi. 5), Chaldæa, Jer. i. 13—15; iii. 12, 18; iv. 6, and generally in that writer.

5. It is farther to be remarked, that the Hebrews regarded what lay to the north as *higher*,¹⁰ and what lay to the south as *lower*; hence they who travelled from south to north were said to *go up*, whilst they who went from north to south were said to *go down*. Thus Judah, when he left his brethren who were at Sichem and went to Adullam, which lay to the south, is said to have *gone down* from them, Gen. xxxviii. 1. David was *brought down* to the Amalekites, whose country lay to the south of Israel, 1 Sam. xxx. 15, 16. In like manner, after receiving the account of Samuel's death, he *went down* from the neighbourhood of Engedi to the wilderness of Paran, 1 Sam. xxv. 1; and Saul *went down* from Gibeon to the wilderness of Ziph, 1 Sam. xxvi. 2, both deserts lying to the south. So it is said of those who travelled from Palestine to Egypt (which was likewise south of Judæa), that they *went down* to Egypt, Gen. xii. 10; xxvi. 2; xlv. 3; and of those who journeyed in a contrary direction, that they *went up* from Egypt, Gen. xlv. 25. Hosea reproaches Israel with *going up* to the king of Assyria for help, Hos. viii. 9. Upon

this distinction is founded the division of Syria into the *upper* and *lower*, (1 Macc. x. 69), *i. e.* the northern and southern. The *upper lands*, 1 Macc. iii. 37. 2 Macc. ix. 23, and the *upper coasts*, Acts xix. 1, are those to the north. Silas and Timothy came from Macedonia, a northern province of Greece, *down* to Corinth.¹¹ Acts xviii. 5.

1. Pliny says in his Nat. Hist. ii. 47. *Veteres quatuor omnino (ventos) servavere, per totidem mundi partes, ideo nec Homerus plures nominat, hebeti, ut mox judicatum est, ratione.*

2. A copious illustration of the passages of Scripture relative to this topic, will be found in C. B. *Michaelis* Dissert. Chorographico-Philologica de locorum differentia ratione anticæ, posticæ, dextræ, sinistræ. Halle, 1735, 4to; reprinted in *Berg's* Museum Duisburgense, Tom. I. P. 1., and (with additions) in *Pott's* Sylloge Commentt. Vol. v. p. 80.

3. The Arab. قَبْلَ has the same signification, *e. g.* the wind blows *from before*, *i. e.* from the *east*; and قَبُولٌ properly that which comes from an *opposite direction*, or in *face* of the spectator; thence used for the *east wind*.^a

4. The Hebrews say of the sun, when he sets, that he *goes in*, *i. e.* under the horizon as into his bed-chamber. Compare the corresponding figure in Ps. xix. 5, where it is said of the rising sun, that he

^a These Arabic words, *kabbala*, *kabool*, will remind the reader of the *kiblah* of Mahometans, *i. e.* the point whither they turn their faces in prayer.—M.

comes forth radiant and joyous, as a bridegroom from his nuptial-couch. Another name of the *west* is מערב from ערב in the sense of the Arab. غَرَبَ to *withdraw, depart*, i. e. in reference to the sun, to *go down*.

5. נגב from נגב, in Aramæan, *to be dry*.

6. דרום is by C. B. *Michaelis* derived from דר which signifies properly to *flow*, to *flow down*, whence, says he, it comes to denote to *sink down*. And he thinks the countries of the south were so designated, from the notion entertained, that in that direction the earth sank or sloped down, while toward the north it rose (comp. the last paragraph of the present section.) See *Michaelis' Dissert. Notiones Superi et Inferi, indeque adscensus et descensus in chorographiis sacris evolvens*. Halle, 1735; republished in the *Commentt. Theologg. of Velthuysen, Kuinoel, and Rupert*, Vol. V. p. 397. But the signification to *sink down*, which *Michaelis* attaches to the root, دَر is destitute of proof. With greater probability, *Gesenius*, in the second edition of his smaller *Lexicon*, p. 186, derives דרום from the same root, דרר, but in the sense of *to beam, to radiate*; hence in speaking of a country, *shined upon, sunny, bright*, (comp. צה, opposed to *Zaphon*, the north, i. e. the dark, obscure land. See note 8.

7. Teman was the proper name of a country bordering on the south of Palestine, Jer. xlix. 7, 20.

Obad. v. 9., Ezek. xxvi. 13. Thus is یمن i. e. the

right side, still the name of Southern Arabia, commonly *Yemen*.

8. C. B. *Michaelis*, in the above-mentioned Dissert. p. 419, derives this word צפון from צפה, *to look down from a height*; and supposes that the *north* was so named, because the Hebrews believed it to be the most elevated region of the earth. Yet it seems preferable to follow the more common etymology from צפן *to hide*; and then צפון describes the country that is veiled in obscurity. Similar both in sense and sound is the Greek ζόφος *darkness, obscurity*.

9. שמאל The Arab. شام^{شام} *the left* has the same meaning.

Hence the name of Syria الشام^{شام} *esh-Sham* or بر الشام^{بر الشام} *Barr-esh-Sham*, i. e. *the land to the left*, so called because to an Arab looking east it lies on the *left-hand*, i. e. on the *north*. So the Romans: Ponticæ gentes ad *septentrionem* in mare *sinistrum* jacent, a Pontico regno cognominatæ mari. *Florus*, III. 5, 1.

10. “The imaginary concave sphere of the starry firmament, seems to us to rise towards the north, and sink towards the south.” Note of J. H. *Voss* on Virgil’s *Georgics*, I. line 240, 241.

Mundus ut ad Scythiam, Rhipæasque arduus arces
Consurgit, premitur Libyæ devexus in austros.^a

According to another ancient opinion, the earth sinks to the south, pressed down with vegetation, and

^a Two poles turn round the globe, one seen to rise,
O’er Scythian hills, and one in Libyan skies.
The first sublime in heaven; the last is whirled
Below the regions of the nether world.

DRYDEN’S TRANSLATION.

hanging low in the air that is rarefied by heat. *Voss*, *Mythological Letters*, (Ger.) Vol. ii. p. 21.

11. To speak of *going down* to the sea, or to a river, is in accordance with universal usage, which is founded upon the natural position of these objects relative to the surrounding country [Thus also to *go up* to Jerusalem, which lay on hilly ground.] In another sense, not geographical or physical, but moral, the Hebrews said, “*to go up*” to appear before a judge or king, Num. xvi. 12, 14. Deut. xxv. 7. Judges iv. 5. See the Dissert. of Michaelis before cited, p. 433, and p. 445.

§ III.—DIVISION OF THE EARTH.

THE Hebrews divided the earth into the Dry Land *הַיַּבֶּשֶׁה*, *הַחֲרֵבָה* and *the Sea* *הַיָּם*, Jon. i. 9. Hagg. ii. 7. Comp. Gen. i. 9, 10. The ocean was called the *Great Sea*,¹ Ps. civ. 25; and the *Great Deep*, *תְּהוֹם*, Gen. vii. 11. Ps. xxxvi. 7. Amos vii. 4; into which flow all the rivers, Eccles. i. 7. (Ecclesiasticus xl. 11.) We also find *the earth*, i. e. the continent, as distinguished from the *islands*² *אִיִּים*, Esth. x. 1. Ps. xcvi. 1. But the special designation, *the Islands of the Sea*, *אִיֵּי הַיָּם* seems to have included the then known isles of the Mediterranean, the coasts of Greece, Italy and Spain, and generally the western regions commercially visited by the Phœnicians, from whom the Jews chiefly received their knowledge of those countries. Gen.

x. 5. Ps. lxxii. 10. Isa. lxvi. 19. Ezek. xxvi. 18. Dan. xi. 18. See App. D. p. 39.

1. Yet this term is occasionally used of the Mediterranean, which washed the coast of Canaan, Numb. xxxiv. 6. Jos. i. 4; ix. 1; xv. 12. Ezek. xlvii. 20.

2. The word *אי* properly signifies *habitable land* from *איה* ^{א-י} *to dwell*, but it came to be used of any land situated *upon* or *in* the waters, (i. e. coasts or islands.) See J. D. Michaelis Spicileg. Geogr. Hebr. Exter. P. I. p. 139.

§ IV.—MOUNTAINS, VALLEYS, PLAINS, DESERTS.

1. The Hebrews had but one word *הר* *har*, to denote a *mountain*, and a *chain or ridge of mountains*. Yet, to express the latter idea, the term is sometimes used in the plural. Thus, Gilboa, which in 1 Sam. xxxi. 8, is called a mountain, in 2 Sam. i. 21, is denominated the *mountains* of Gilboa. The *heights of the earth*, *במתי ארץ* is another name for mountains, Amos iv. 13. Mic. i. 3. Of the three Hebrew terms for hills *גבעה*, *עפל*, *שפי*, (*Gibua*, *Ophel*, *Shephi*), the last specially signifies a bare, bleak hill, in the wilderness, Jer. iv. 11; xii. 12.

2. A valley is denominated *Bikah*, *בקעה*, *Gai*, *גי* or *גיא*, *Emek*, *עמק*, meaning thereby the level ground that lies between hills, and is commonly fertile. It is to be distinguished from the

beds of mountain-torrents, peculiar to the countries of the south. These ravines are generally dry, unless immediately after rain.^a The name נַחַל *Nachal*,¹ belongs to them, though, from the circumstance now mentioned, it is sometimes used for a brook, Gen. xxxii. 23. Ps. lxxiv. 15. A rivulet proceeding from a spring, and therefore preserving a constant flow, is נַחַל אֵיתָן, *Nachal-Ethan*, Deut. xxi. 4. Amos v. 24.

3. Wide extended plains in the East are usually liable to drought, and consequently to barrenness. Hence, the Hebrew language describes a *plain* and a *desert*, *unfruitful waste*, by the same word עֲרָבָה *Arabah*. The term which is in general rendered “*wilderness*,” *Midbar*,² means properly a *grazing-tract* uncultivated and destitute of wood, but fit for pasture, a heath or steppe.³ The *pastures of the wilderness* are mentioned, Ps. lxxv. 13. Joel i. 19. Luke xv. 4. See App. E. p. 40.

1. The corresponding Arabic term is وَادٍ *Wady*.

See Niebuhr's *Arabia*, p. 2. [and Burckhardt, *passim*.]

2. מִדְבָּר from דָּבַר to *lead*, to *drive*, the meaning also

^a Hence the beautiful allusion in Ps. cxxvi. 4, “Let our bondage be as short-lived as a southern torrent.” And in Job vi. 15, 17,

“My brethren have dealt deceitfully as a flood,
As the torrent of floods that pass away;
What time they wax warm they evaporate,
And when it grows hot, they are dried up in their place.”

Good's Version.---M.

of the Syriac and Arabic roots, (the latter in the second conjugation.)

3. A *desert* or *wilderness* generally is expressed by the word ישימון from ישם to be *waste* or *desolate*. Also by שממה from שמו which signifies both *to be waste*, and also *to be affrighted*, a dreary wilderness being fitted to excite terror in the lonely wanderer. Thus Jeremiah (xii. 10,) speaks of *midbar-shemamah* a desert of terror. From the want of water and the aridity of the ground, a desert is styled a *land of drought*, ארץ ציה, Ps. lxiii. 2; cvii. 35, or simply *drought*, ציה, Ps. lxxviii. 17.

§ V.—THE MIDDLE OF THE EARTH.

The ancients having conceived of the earth as being of a flat circular form, (see § I.) it is not surprising that Greek and Roman writers speak of the *middle of the earth*. The Greeks regarded Delphi, where was the famous temple of Apollo, as the middle of the earth, whence that town was called *the earth's navel*.¹ The Old Testament uses the same illustration in reference to Palestine and Jerusalem. The prophet Ezekiel says, ch. v. 5. This is Jerusalem which I have placed *in the middle* of the nations, the countries being round about her.² And in ch. xxxviii. 12, he terms the Israelites the people who dwell in the *navel*³ טבור of the earth. Yet it is doubtful whether this denote the *middle* or the *highest part* of the earth. The latter interpretation is countenanced

by Judg. ix. 37, where it is said of an army, which came down from the top of the mountains, (v. 36,) that they came down from the *navel* of the land. Besides, Palestine, as a hilly country, is denominated the *heights* of the earth, Deut. xxxii. 13; and Ezekiel himself describes it as “the mountains of Israel;” see v. 8 of the chapter quoted, and ch. vi. 2; xxxiii. 28; xxxv. 12; xxxvi. 1.⁴ The notion that Jerusalem and the surrounding territory formed the centre of the earth, long prevailed among the Christians of the east.⁵

1. Strabo says, (ix. 3, 6,) that Delphi lay in the middle of all Greece;—according to some, even in the middle of the earth, whence, *καὶ ἐκάλεσαν τῆς γῆς ὀμφαλόν*. The poets had imagined a fable of which Pindar takes notice, namely, that Jupiter, in order to ascertain the middle of the earth, had sent out two eagles, the one from the west, the other from the east, and that they met upon the spot where Delphi was founded. Hence, Sophocles in *Œdipus Tyr.* v. 488, styles the oracle of Apollo there, *τὰ μεσόμφαλα γᾶς μαντεῖα*. Pindar says in the 4th Pythian Ode, No. 4, v. 8, that Delphi lies *παρ μέσον ὀμφαλὸν εὐδένδροιο ματέρος*, i. e. of the earth. Cicero de *Divinat.* ii. 56, says:—*O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obsides*. See Reland’s *Palæstina*, i. 10. The old Arabian geographers took the Island *Sarandīb*, i. e. Ceylon, for the middle of the earth. Selden (*de Jure Nat. et Gentt. juxta Discipl. Hebr.* iii. 2) has the following remarks: *Lego in Abu Walid Mahumed Ben Elshecina Histo-*

rico penes me vetusto MS. ubi de وسط الارض
medio seu umbilico telluris verba faciens, قالوا inquit
هو وادي سرنديب حيث هبط ادم السلام عليه
fertur locum hunc esse fluvium Sarandib, quo descen-
dit Adam, super quem sit pax. Sarandib autem in-
sula maris Orientalis, Harchend dicti, celeberrima,
fuse describitur apud Geographum Arabem [Edrisium]
Part 8, Clim. 3. Neque alia est a Taprobana, quae
item *Sumatra* dici solet. Fluvius autem ille sub
Æquinoctiali ponitur. Achmed Ben Magad in Insu-
larum Chronographia; واما الحقيقة خط الاستوي
هو الوادي وادي سرنديب *ad amussim sub linea*
Æquinoctiali habetur fluvius dictus fluvius Sarandib.^a
Quod et Ptolemaicæ Topobranæ Geographiæ disso-
num non est. Unde etiam Latitudines Urbium ac
Provinciarum a jam dicto fluvio putantur, ut Achmed
ille, quemadmodum Longitudines ab Occidentis ter-
mino. Ita in Orientis extremo juxta nonnullos poni-
tur Telluris Umbilicus seu Medium.

2. Theodoret remarks in his Comment. at this place,
that God had chosen the Jews, in order through them
to bless all nations. He had therefore assigned them
an abode in the middle of the earth, so that all other
people might learn from them, piety and virtue.
ἔδωκεν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τόπον εἰς οἰκήτηριον τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ
μέσα — — — — — ἢ ἐκεῖνοι^b τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης ὠφέλειαν

^a The more precise translation of the Arabic is: “ Now the exact position of the equinoctial line is the *Wady*, or river (called) *Wady Sarandib*, or the river of Sarandib.”—M.

^b i. e. The Nations.

λαύσωσι, καὶ πᾶσαν εὐσέβειαν καὶ εὐνομίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς μεταμαθῶσιν. So also Jerome in loc. "Jerusalem *in medio mundi* sitam, hic idem propheta testatur, *umbilicum* terræ eam esse demonstrans. A partibus enim Orientis cingitur plaga, quæ appellatur Asia. A partibus Occidentis, ejus quæ vocatur Europa. A meridie et austro, Libya et Africa. A Septentrione, Scythia, Armenia atque Perside, et cunctis Ponti nationibus. In medio igitur gentium posita est, ut, qui notus erat in Judæa Deus, et in Israel magnum nomen ejus, omnes in circuitu nationes illius sequerentur exempla.

3. Cicero (In Verr. Act II. Lib. iv. 48), in speaking of the grove at Enna, says: Qui locus, quod in medio est insulæ situs, *umbilicus Siciliæ* nominatur. Livy (xxxv. 18) has: *Ætoli umbilicum Græciæ* incolunt.

4. The passage in Ps. lxxiv. 12, is inappositely referred to on the present topic: "God is my king of old, who giveth help in the middle (*kereb*) of the earth," by which some expositors understand Palestine, but the words obviously imply *before all the world, in the presence of all people*.

5. Thus an ancient Christian poet, in *Tertullian*, contr. Marcion, ii. ver. 196.

Golgatha locus est, capitis calvaria quondam,
Lingua paterna prior sic illum nomine dixit.
Hic *medium terræ* est, hic est victoriæ signum.

Victorinus of Poitou, in the poem of the Cross, which some ascribe to *Cyprian*, says:—

Est locus, ex omni *medium* quem credimus orbe,
Golgatha Judæi patrio cognomine dicunt.

Eutychius relates in his Arabic Annals, edited by

Pococke, vol. ii. p. 286, that when the patriarch of Jerusalem shewed the Calif Omar the place in Jerusalem where Jacob saw the vision of the ladder,^a he observed, “ this place is in *the middle of the earth*.”

(وهي في وسط الارض) In the Syriac Liturgy of the Antiochian church, the following words occur at the festival of the adoration of the Holy Cross, “ our Lord hung high upon the cross, ܡܠܝܚܐ ܠܥܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܝܐ and embraced the four ends (or quarters of heaven) in the *middle* of the earth.” See Steph. Borgia de Cruce Vaticana, Rom. 1779, 4to. App. p. iii.

§ VI.—THE MOUNT OF THE GODS.

IN the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, (verse 13,) the insolent presumption of the ambitious king of Babylon is thus described: Thou saidst in thy heart, “ To heaven will I ascend; above the stars of God will I exalt my throne—I will dwell on the mount of the congregation, *בהר מועד* *be-har-moed*, (i. e. the assembly of the gods) in the distant north.” The idea of a certain mountain being the meeting-place of the gods was widely prevalent in antiquity. The Hindoos called it

^a To render this allusion intelligible, it is proper to remind the reader, that the Mahometans believe that the stone which was Jacob’s pillar, was removed to Jerusalem, to the mount where stood the temple, upon which the Calif Omar, here mentioned, built the magnificent mosque still called by his name.—M.

Mēru, the Zend nations *Al-Bordsh*,¹ the Arabians *Kaf*,² the Greeks Olympus. The fabulous belief of all these nations placed this Mount in the middle of the world. But as the Indians, when they sought for Mēru in the present earth, thought of the Northern Himalayan range,³—as the Zend tribes placed their Al-Bordsh on the highest summit of the Caucasus^a which bounded their territories to the north—and as the Greeks imagined the seat of the gods to be on Mount Olympus, the highest mountain in Thessaly, their northernmost province—so in the language put into the mouth of the king of Babylon, the Mount of the Assembly of the gods is fixed in the extreme north, probably meaning the Caucasian chain, which lay to the north of Babylonia. According to the religious books of the Zabians, *the Lord of Light* is enthroned in the north. And this well accords with the notion formerly mentioned (§ II. 5,) that the earth rises toward the north.⁴ See App. F. p. 42.

In conformity likewise with this belief, the appearances of deity are represented as coming *out of the north*. Ezekiel thus begins the description of the glory of God, which appeared to him above the cherubim, (ch. i. 4,): I beheld, and, lo! a whirlwind came *out of the north*, a great cloud rolling itself round in fire, which shone round about. This illustrates the passage in

^a Comp. Taylor's Fragments to Calmet. No. 519—522.—M.

Job xxxvii. 22, where it is said, immediately before the vision of the deity appears ; *Out of the north^a* cometh golden splendour ; before God (Eloah) goeth terrible majesty. Ezekiel (ch. xxviii. 14,) compares the king of Tyre to a cherub with expanded wings, placed amid gems of burning lustre upon the holy Mount.^b

1. ^{دون} البرج and ^{دون} البرز, also *Tireh* تيره. "The Al-Bordsh is the oldest and highest of all mountains ; upon it is the throne of Ormuzd, and the assembly of the Heavenly Spirits (Feruer)." Zend-Avesta by Kleuker II. p. 222, III. p. 67, 70, 73.

2. قاف. See D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orient.* in the Article *Caf*, and Rasmussen's *Dissert. de Monte Caf*, Copenhagen 1811, 8vo.

3. Paulinus à S. Bartholomæo, in his *System*.

^a In our English version it is "Fair weather (in the margin *gold*,) cometh out of the north." Reiske, Scott, and Good, connect the words "out of the north" with the former verse, q. d. A wind from the north hath passed over and cleansed them (the clouds.) But Rosenmüller's translation is the simpler, and admirably corresponds with the description which follows in ch. xxxviii. of God answering Job "out of the whirlwind." The sacred writers, however, must not be understood as accommodating their language to the superstitious ideas of the heathen. Jehovah was always represented as dwelling in the heavens ; and if, (as we saw in § II. 5,) the *north* was supposed to rise toward heaven, it was not unnatural to connect the manifestations of deity with that quarter.—M.

^b But is not this rather Mount Moriah ? So at least thought the author when he wrote his *Scholia* on Ezekiel.—M.

Brahman. p. 130, says : *Nec obstat, quod Sonnerat montem Meru ad polum septentrionalem constituat, quia licet sol ad polum hunc, allegorice loquendo, sedem suam habere dici possit, quod sex menses ibi versetur, attamen respectu Indiæ, seu globi terræque Indici, mons Meru Indicæ terræ polus septentrionalis est.*

4. Gesenius has a special disquisition on this subject in his *Comment. on Isaiah, part II. Comp. Michælis in the Bibl. Orient. Part V. and Supplem. ad Lexx. Hebr. p. 1112.* Voss' *Georgics of Virgil, p. 587.*

§ VII.—ITINERARY MEASURES.

THE earlier Hebrews do not seem to have aimed at much exactness in the computation of distances ; at least there are few traces of specific measures of distance in the Old Testament. The situation of a place is commonly described by its relative position to another that was better known. In Gen. xiii. 18, it is said of the grove of Mamre, that it was *at* or *by* Hebron. Mounts Gerizim and Ebal are thus pointed out in Deut. xi. 29, 30 : “ *Beyond Jordan, on the way towards the sun-setting, in the land of the Canaanites, who dwell in the campaign-country, opposite Gilgal, beside the plain of Moreh.*” Of the town of Laish, afterwards called Dan, it is said (Judg. xviii. 28,) that it lay in a bottom or valley, near Beth-Rechob. In like manner the

valley of Zephata is described as at or beside Maresa, (2 Chron. xiv. 10,) and Zarpath, *i. e.* Sarepta as near Sidon,^a 1 Kings xvii. 9. Sometimes a place is characterized by its *geographical bearing* to another. Ai was beside Bethaven to the east, before Bethel, Josh. vii. 2. Timnath-Serach lay on Mount Ephraim, to the north of the hill of Gaash, Josh. xxiv. 30. The Mount of Olives was situated to the east of Jerusalem, Zech. xiv. 4. Similar to this is the method by which the position of the town of Shiloh is laid down in Judg. xxi. 19—viz. “it lay north of Bethel, towards the east, (*i. e.* to the N.E.,) on the way that goeth up from Bethel to Sichem, and on the south of Lebonah.” If we knew the situation of the three towns mentioned, Bethel, Sichem and Lebonah, the site of Shiloh might be conjectured with tolerable accuracy, but its precise distance from any one of these places the description leaves in uncertainty.

Yet there are two expressions in the Old Testament which do aid us somewhat in forming a conception of topographical distances.

1st. *Kibrath-Haaretz*,¹ *i. e.* a piece of ground or of way. In Gen. xxxv. 16, we read: they set out from Bethel, and there was but *a piece of way* to come to Ephrath when Rachel died. Jacob uses the same expression in recounting the incident to Joseph, Gen. xlvi. 7. So in 2 Kings

^a In the English translation “which belongeth to Zidon.”—M.

v. 19, when Naaman had departed from Elisha, *a piece of way*, Gehazi ran after him.² It is possible that, in all these cases, a short but indeterminate distance is intended. Yet since the most ancient Greek translators have preserved the former of these Hebrew words, (though in the Aramæan form, *Chabratha*,^a) we may conclude that in their day it was the name of a definite measure of length.³ In one of the places cited (Gen. xlviii. 7,) they add, by way of explanation, the Greek word *Hippodromos*,^b *a Horse-course*, *i. e.* the distance a horse should be made to go daily for exercise, probably three or four miles. By the same phrase⁴ the Arabian geographers define a certain specific distance, which seems to amount to about an Arabic *parasang*,⁵ *i. e.* a common French league, (25 of which make up a degree of the equator,) consisting of 2400 geometrical paces.

2nd. *Derech-ha-yom*, a day's journey. Jacob put a space of three days' journey between his own flocks and those of Laban, Gen. xxx. 36. The latter pursued Jacob out of Haran the space of seven days' journey, and overtook him on Mount Gilead, Gen. xxxi. 23. The Israelites sought permission of Pharaoh to go the length of three days' journey into the wilderness, Exod. v. 3; viii. 27. It is said in Num. xi. 31, that

^a Χαβραθα, כְּבֵרֶתָא.

^b κατὰ τὸν ἵπποδρόμον, κ. τ. λ.

the quails lay round the camp, here a day's journey and there a day's journey.⁶ Moses reckoned eleven days' journey from Mount Horeb to the plains of Moab through Mount Seir, Deut. i. 2. According to Jonah iii. 3, the circuit of Nineveh was three days' journey. This mode of describing distances is also found in Greek, Roman, Arabian, and Persian writers. It needs scarcely be remarked that in itself (if strictly taken,) it would be a very vague and fluctuating measurement; the length of a day's journey depending so much on the peculiar circumstances under which each pedestrian travels. But the ancient writers seem to have fixed on the *average* of what was usually performed by foot-travellers. Herodotus in one place says, a day's journey amounts to 200 stadia,⁷ in another to 150⁸; the former is equal to 4 German miles, the latter to $3\frac{1}{2}$.^a Marinus takes 172 stadia = about $3\frac{3}{10}$ German miles; Procopius 210 = $4\frac{1}{10}$ German miles for a day's journey. According to Vegetius, 20 Roman miles, that is 160 stadia, were reckoned for a day's journey, which is somewhat less than 7 leagues. In the Arabian geographers the length of a day's journey is equally variable; yet, among them, as in the East at the present day, it may be stated generally at about

^a An equatorial degree contains 15 German miles, and 69.5 English, so that one German mile is more than four English.—M.

seven leagues, which is probably not far from the distance intended by that expression in scripture.¹⁰ See Appendix, G. p. 44.

In the New Testament we find three itinerary measures introduced.

1st. The *stadium*. The hamlet of Emmaus was distant from Jerusalem sixty stadia, Luke xxiv. 13. The Evangelist John relates (ch. vi. 19) that when the disciples had rowed about twenty-five or thirty stadia they saw Jesus walking on the water. The same writer (ch. xi. 18) speaks of Bethany as lying near Jerusalem, about fifteen stadia distant. In Rev. xiv. 20, it is said that blood flowed out of the wine-press, even unto the horse-bridles, to the space of 1600 stadia ; and in ch. xxi. 16, the size of the new Jerusalem is described as 12,000 stadia square, that is 48,000 in circuit.^a The Greek word *stadion* or *stadion* properly signifies a race-course, where runners contend for a prize. In this sense it occurs in 1 Cor. ix. 24, where Luther has translated it by *schracken*, the lists. [The English version by “a race.”] It came subsequently to be used for a measure of distance corresponding to the ordinary length of the race-course ; and when by the conquests of Alexander the Great, the Greek language became diffused throughout the east, this became a cur-

^a In all these passages the English version has “furlongs.”—M.

rent expression. The Olympic stadium,¹¹ which was the most common, contained 125 geometrical or double paces (reckoning the pace at five feet), *i. e.* 600 Greek or 625 Roman feet. [It was equal to 185.37 French metres.]

2nd. The *mile*¹² is only once mentioned in the New Testament, viz. where Christ says, Matt. v. 41, if any one compel thee to go one mile, go with him two. The *mile* is originally (as its derivation from *mille*, a thousand, implies,¹³) a Roman measure of 1000 geometrical paces, or eight stadia, *i. e.* 125 paces $\times 8 = 1000$. A Roman mile comprised the sixtieth part of a degree; three were equal to about a league.

3rd. The *Sabbath day's journey*¹⁴ is mentioned Acts i. 12. "The Mount of Olives was from Jerusalem a Sabbath day's journey." This was as far as it was allowable to travel from home, on the seventh day. From the injunction in Exod. xvi. 29, where the Israelites are forbidden to leave the camp to gather manna upon the Sabbath, a law was derived, that no one should on that day depart farther from the place of his abode than the space which intervened between the extremity of the Israelitish camp and the tabernacle which stood in its centre. This was reckoned to be about 1000 ells, which being doubled,¹⁵ (to make allowance for the return home) amounted to much the same as the Roman mile, or 1000 geometrical paces.¹⁶ But,

indeed, an exact estimate of the length of a Sabbath day's journey seems never to have been taken, for the Jewish doctors speak of a great and a little and a middle Sabbath day's journey.¹⁷ The distance of the Mount of Olives from Jerusalem is called by Josephus, in one place, five¹⁸ stadia, in another¹⁹ six; the former being equal to 625 geometrical paces, the latter to 750, but both are below the estimate above given of 2000 ells. In allusion to the short distance a Jew was permitted to travel on the seventh day, Christ says, "pray ye that your flight be not in winter nor on the Sabbath-day."

1. כְּבֵרֶת הָאָרֶץ. The first of these words signifies *largeness, width*, from a root not found in scripture כְּבַר = כִּבְרַ to be large. For other less probable etymologies, see the author's Scholia on Gen. xxxv. 16, 3d Edit. p. 532.

2. Luther translates the above Hebrew words by "*feldweg*," respecting which Adelung remarks, that it is now obsolete, but was equivalent to a *stadium*. Ger. Dict. Part II. p. 104.

3. Gesenius has correctly observed, in the second edition of his Lexicon, p. 341, that the circumstance of the indefinite expressions *breadth, length* being used for *definite* measures, should excite no surprise, for it is often so in the names of weights, measures, periods of time, &c. Thus סֵאָה *a measure*, is also the name of a specific measure of corn; שָׁקֶל *a weight*,

is also the name of a determinate weight, the shekel ; ימים days, *i. e. several days*, *q. d.* a long time, is also used for a year. So the Chald. ערן *a long time*, denotes a year ; שעה *a short time*, an hour.^a The same is the case with the German word *mass*, [a measure generally, and specially a pot or quart.]

4. ^{شوط الفرس} شوط الفرس. J. B. Köhler, in the Addenda to his edition of Abulfeda's Tabula Syriae, defines this a *post-stage*, quantum currere potest una vice equus, donec defatigetur. Upon which Michaelis animadverts in his Observations on Abulfeda's Egypt, p. 4: Non est, quantum currere *potest*; miser enim equus sit, qui non possit uno cursu ac sine defatigatione molesta, quatuor aut quinque milliaria Germanica absolvere; sed: quantum currere *debet*, ne stando corrumpatur, pedumque agilitatem amittat.

5. ^{فرسنگ} فرسنگ, is also written in Persian *Farsenk*. Parasanga, id est leuca Persica, quam Turcice vocant Agaatsji, tantam notat longitudinem, vel loci distantiam ut viginti duæ cum dimidia uni respondeant cœlesti gradui. *Kaempfer* in Amœnitt. Exott. p. 727. *Chardin* says (Voyages, Tom. IV. p. 177, Edit of Langlès); The Persian league is called *fars-seng*, a term which signifies *stone of Persia*; Herodotus and other Greek authors write *parasanga*, which is not materially different, the pronunciation of f and p being so similar, that the one is often taken for the other. It appears, from the signification of

^a Thus the Greek ὥρα, *time, an hour*.

this word, that anciently the leagues were marked by large high stones, both in the east and west. It is well known that in Latin, the word *lapis*, a stone, is used for a league—ad *primum vel secundum lapidem*. Herodotus says the parasang is of thirty stadia. That would amount to two French leagues of 12,000 feet each. The Persians make it of 6000 paces or *endāzé*, a word which signifies a throw or cast, *jet, comme pour dire, que le pas est le jet du corps.*” Langlès, in his note upon this passage, derives parasang from the Sanscrit, where *parra* signifies a stone, and *sanga* a row or series, q. d. a succession of stones at regular distances; following in this, Paulinus à S. Barthol. in his Dissert. de Antiq. et Affinitat Ling. Sendicæ, Samsirdamicæ et Germanicæ, p. 42. In the Bundehesch (Zend Avesta, III. 26) we find it said: “The farsang is the distance at which a far-sighted man perceives a camel, and can distinguish whether it is white or black.” In the Syriac church version of 2 Kings v. 19, for the Heb. כְּבֹרֶת הָאָרֶץ there is כְּבֹרֶת אֶרֶץ a parasang of land or way. Comp. Gravius’ Preface to Abulfeda’s Chorasmicæ et Mawaralnahrae Descriptio, and J. M. Hartmann’s Prolegomena to the “Africa” of Edrisi, p. 114. Michaelis Supplem. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 1208.

6. דֶּרֶךְ הַיּוֹם. The passage in 1 Kings xix. 8 must not be taken into account here; for when it is said that the prophet took *forty days* and *forty nights* in going from Beersheba to Mount Horeb, (a distance of only eight or nine days’ journey), the number *forty* must be understood *indefinitely* for a round number,

as is the case elsewhere, e. g. Gen. xvii. 17 ; viii. 6. Ezek. iv. 6.^a

7. IV. 101. where, in speaking of the extent of the country inhabited by the Scythians, he says: Καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς μεσόγαιαν εἰς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατ' ὑπερθε Σκυθῶν οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερῶν ὁδός. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκύσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι.

8. V. 53. Πεντήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη διεξιούσι. Reland is therefore wrong in saying (Palest. p. 400.) Herodotus iter diei vocat ducenta stadia et quinquaginta.

9. Ptolem. II. 11. Procop. on the Vandal War I. 1. Μῖα δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδὸς εἰς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει σταδίους. Comp. Procop. on the Goth. War, I. 14 ; II. 10. Vegetius de Re Milit. I. 9.

10. Hartmann's Prolegom. to Edrisi's Africa, p. cxvi. cxviii. A day's journey, says Tavernier, is in the east very unequal, sometimes of six, sometimes of ten, even of twelve leagues, according as water is met with, which is not always at the expected place. Kämpfer in his Amœnitt. Exot. p. 727, says :

Diæta, indigenis (Persiæ) ^ومنزل Mensil appellata,

tantum complectitur viae spatium, quantum uno die viator absolvit ; diætis enim peregrinationes et urbium distantias metiuntur, relicto Parasangarum usu geographis et curiosis. Sunt autem diætæ omnes haud

^a Among the Persians, the number *forty* seems to be used in a similar manner. The ruins of a palace at Persepolis are called *Tshihal-Menār*, i. e. the Forty Pillars ; and the palace at Ispahan, *Tshihal-Sutoon*, a name of like import.—See Ker Porter's Travels.—M.

paris longitudinis, sed incertis stationum et hospitiorum, quibus in viis pernoctari potest, distantiiis metiuntur. Observavi tamen, nunquam intra quatuor, vel ultra octo parasangas diætam contrahi vel extendi, ut, qui intra mensuram illam substituerit, dicatur tantum dimidiam diætam, qui ultra progressus sit, unam cum dimidia absolvisse.

11. Plinii Hist. Nat. II. 23. Stadium centum viginti-quinque nostros efficit passus, hoc est, pedes sexcentos viginti quinque. *Censorinus* de die Nat. 13, notices the different lengths of the stadium: Stadium in hac mundi mensura id potissimum intelligendum est, quod Italicum vocant, pedum DCXXV; nam sunt præterea et alia longitudine discrepantia ut Olympicum, quod est pedum D; item Pythicum pedum M. In the Talmud a stadium is called רוס and ריס, $7\frac{1}{2}$ of which were equal to a Roman mile. Comp. Reland's Palaest. p. 400.

12. מילין, מיל, in the Talmud מילין, מיל. Reland's Palaest. p. 397.

13. Cicero sometimes uses *Milliare*, as in the Letters to Atticus VI. 1. Accepi tuas literas ad quintum milliare Laodiceæ. But he commonly has mille passus or mille passuum, which, in the Itineraries of Antoninus, Jerusalem, &c. stands abbreviated M. P.

14. Ὅδὸς σαββάτου. In the Talmud, תחום השבת *literally* the bounds of the Sabbath. Buxtorf's Lex. Chald. p. 2582.

15. In the Targum or Chald. Paraphrase on Ruth i. 16, it is said, אתפקדנא למטר שביא ויומי טבא, בדיל דלא לחלכא בר מתרין אלפין אמין: “We are commanded to observe the Sabbaths and holidays, so

that we never travel above 2000 ells." The rules of the Jewish doctors regarding a Sabbath day's journey, are contained in the Talmudic tract Erubhin, (מסכת עירובין) the second in the second part of the Mischnah. The 4th section of chap. v. enjoins, that the 2000 ells be measured in no other way than with a rope or cord 50 ells long, to be held by those who measure, neither high nor low, but at the region of the heart. If they come to a valley or a ruinous wall, they are not to take into account the depth of the one nor the height of the other, but are to measure straight across the valley, unless it be more than fifty ells wide, &c. See more in Selden de Jure Nat. et Gent. iii. 9; G. E. Voigt's (or J. Frischmuth's) Dissert. de Itinere Sabbathi, Jena 1670; and M. Walther's Dissert. on the same subject. Both will be found in the Thesaur. Theolog. Philolog., Amster. 1702, p. 417, 423.

16. In proof of this, Œcumenius, in his Comment. on Acts i. 12, says, Μίλιον ἐν ἡ τοῦ Σαββάτου ὁδός, ὡς ρησιν Ὀριγένης, ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ Στροματῶν, δισχιλιῶν πηχῶν ὑπῆρχεν καὶ μάλλον ἢ ἁγία σκηνή, καὶ κιβωτὸς τοσοῦτον διάστημα προσέλάβανε τὴν παρεμβολήν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοσοῦτου διαστήματος ἐσκήνουν· ὃ διάστημα ἐξῆν τοῖς προσκηνοῦσι τὴν ἁγίαν σκηνὴν βαδίζειν ἐν σαββάτῳ. And Jerome says, in his 151st Letter (to Algasia): Præterea quia jussum est, ut diebus Sabbatorum sedeat unusquisque in domo sua, et non egrediatur, neque ambulet de loco, in quo habitat; si quando eos (Judæos) juxta literam cœperimus arctare, ut non jaceant, non ambulent, non stent, sed tantum sedeant, si velint præcepta servare; solent respondere et dicere: Rab

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

A. *The Figure of the Earth*, § I.—Bellermann, in his *Biblical Geography* (*Handbuch d. Bibl. Liter.* II. p. 143,) substantially agrees with Rosenmüller, who has indeed borrowed from him some of the leading ideas. Winer, however, thinks that nothing definite can be made out from the passages appealed to. See his *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*. Art. *Erde*. It is certainly rather inconclusive to infer the popular notions of the earth's figure from what may have been nothing more than the bold imagery of poets. Some have supposed, that so long as the Hebrews were a nomadic race, they conceived of the earth as resembling a round tent, with the expanse of the firmament as its covering. But that in later times, when domiciled in Palestine, they spake of it as a splendid palace resting upon its many pillars. Comp. Ps. lxxv. 3; civ. 5. Prov. viii. 25—29. 2. Sam. xxii. 3. The Greek and Roman writers also vary in their representations on this point, describing the earth sometimes as an oblong square, sometimes as a cube, sometimes as a pyramid, sometimes as a *chlamys* or outspread mantle.

B. *Names of the Earth*, § I. Note 1.—To complete the nomenclature, we add the following from the author's work on *Biblical Mineralogy*, p. 3.

1. "Earth as an element is called *Adamah*, *Eretz*, or *Aphar*. The first two are also used for *the* earth as a whole. *Adamah*, i. e. red earth, often denotes arable land. Gen. iv. 2. Isa. i. 7; xxx. 23. *Aphar* is dry dust, as Num. xxiii. 10, where

it is *an emblem* for a numerous people. Man was made of earthy dust, Gen. ii. 7, to which he returns; iii. 19. Job x. 9. Eccles. xii. 7. *Clods of earth* are called. 1st. *Gush*. Job. vii. 5, (descriptive of the colour and scurf of a leper's skin). 2d. *Regabim*. Job. xxi. 33: xxxviii. 38. 3d. *Megrephat*. Joel i. 17. Fine flying dust is, *Abak*, Deut. xxviii. 24. Nah. i. 3. Cant. iii. 6. An atom of dust, *Shachak*. Isa. xl. 15."

C. *Geographical Bearings*, § II.—These expressions *before*, *behind*, *right*, *left*, are also used in the same sense in reference to the construction and services of the tabernacle and temple. Exod. xxvi. 9. 1 Kings vi. 3. Ezek. xlvii. 1, &c. As to *Kedem*, a word of very extensive import, see the speculations of Taylor in his *Fragments to Calmet*, Nos. 526, 660. He thinks its verbal meaning is *ancient*, *primary*, *the origin*, and geographically signifies the *primary province*, that where mankind was first settled.

The same fundamental idea as to the method of defining the four quarters of the heavens seems to have prevailed among the Celts. Rosenmüller quotes from an anonymous Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language, (Dubl. 1772 :) "In Irish, *oirtheas*, *before*, is a name for the east; *jar*, *behind*, the west; *deas*, *the right hand*, the south; and from *thuaith*, *the left hand*, comes *tuath*, the north pole." For the following elucidation of this subject, as regards the Scottish Gaelic, I am indebted to an eminent living Celtic scholar.

"The terms used in Gaelic for the Cardinal Points, are the following,—

An Ear, or, in common speech,	" <i>an àird' an ear</i> ,"	the East.
An Iar, or,	" <i>an àird' an iar</i> ,"	the West.
Deas, or,	" <i>an àirde deas</i> ,"	the South.
Tuath, or,	" <i>an àirde tuath</i> ,"	the North.

The words at the left side, are undoubtedly the primitive designating words; *àirde*, signifies a quarter, or region, *an àirde Tuath*, is literally, "The region of the north,"—and so of the others. The Irish dialect uses the same terms. In more ancient writings and forms of speech, I am not aware that any words different from those now in use, were em-

ployed, except that instead of *ear*, or *an ear* for the East, there is frequently found *oir*, and sometimes *soir*, both in the Scottish and Irish dialect. I am not prepared to say that, in the Scottish dialect, or, so far as I know, in the Irish, of which I have read a good deal, the East is ever directly used as signifying *before*—or the west, as *directly* signifying behind—that is, the words themselves, used to convey that meaning. *Iar*, the west, indeed, is used as a preposition, signifying *after*, the very favourite Irish word; and in Gaelic, I am quite prepared to say, that *iar*, now written “*air*” did originally signify *after*; especially in certain conformations of verbs, e. g. “*deanamh*,” is the present participle of the verb, *Dean* to do, “*air deanamh*, is equivalent to the perfect participle. *Tha mi a’ deanamh*—I am doing; “*Tha mi air deanamh*,” I have done (it) literally, “I am *after* doing it, *i. e.* I have finished it. *Iar*, also is still used in Scotch Gaelic, as a prefix—clearly and distinctly signifying *after*, as *iar-bleodhan*, an *after milking*. I cannot remember any way in which *ear*, *oir*, or *soir*, signifies before. Were I to indulge in conjecture, I could easily discover compound words, in which the syllable *ear*, does signify before, as *earlas*,^a an *earnest* or prelude. *Deas* and *Tuath*, are of larger and more frequent use, in the Gaelic language—*Deas*, signifies *the right*, but equally with the right (hand)—it signifies, prosperous, fortunate, favourable, ready, prepared, right too, in the *moral* signification of the term. *Tuath* is not so directly used, in its simple form, to signify the opposite of *deas*; but with the additional termination *al*, *Tuathal*, it signifies wrong, unfortunate, unlucky, unhappy. I am not aware that *Tuath* is used expressly with hand, to signify the *left* hand; but we do certainly say *Fear-tuathal*, a *wrong*, unlucky, *man*, and in some districts of the Highlands, they say, an *lāmh thuathal*, the left hand. But, *untowardness* is the general idea conveyed by *Tuathal*, and *Deas*, has certainly every thing good and favourable and *right* associated with it. I feel warranted to say, that *oir* does enter into the composition of Gaelic words, implying excellence, facility, pleasantness: and *iar* denoting the contrary. *Oir*-

^a In Scotch, *arles*, the pledge taken by servants on being engaged.—M.

dheirc, is excellent,—*iargalt*, is fierce, morose, gloomy, *almost savage*. That the south signifies the right, the north the left, in Gaelic and in Irish, is quite certain; but that the east signifies before, and the west behind, I do not hold to be quite so clear, except in the indirect senses which I have alluded to.”

We find the same general notions pervading the nations of the east. “The Hindus,” says Wilford, “have peculiar names for the four cardinal points, derived from their respective situations, with regard to a man looking toward the rising sun, which is the most proper time to worship him. The east, from that circumstance, is called *Para*, and *Púrva*, or *before*; the West, *Apara*, and *Pas’chima*, or *behind*. The South being then to the right, is called *Daschin’a*, and the North, *Váma* or the *left*. From *Dacshin’a*, comes obviously the *Greek dexion*: the *Latin dexter deaterum*, is from *dacsh-tír*, or *dacshatíram* towards the right. *Pas’chima* is obviously a derivative form, the root of which, *pas’cha*, is no longer to be found in *Sanscrit*, unless in other irregular forms, as *pashchát*; but it is still in use in the spoken dialects, in which it is pronounced *picha*, and from *pas’cha* is derived the *Latin post*, or *behind*; and *postumus* for *postimus*, answers to *pas’chima* or *pas’chum* in the spoken dialects. *Para* is the *English* word *fore*; thus we say, a fairy from the *Persian Peri*. It is also pronounced *pra*, as in *pra-páda*; the fore-foot, or fore part of the foot, including the *Tarsus* and *Metatarsus*; and from it is derived the *Latin præ*, and the *Greek pro*. From this circumstance, there arose a peculiar division of the old continent; the mid-land countries are called *Mad’hyama*, or in the middle; those toward the east *Para*, but more generally *Púrva*; *Para* is used oftener as an adjective noun, as *Para-gandicá*, the Eastern *Gan’dica*. The countries towards the west are denominated *Apara*, *Apar*—Instead of *para* and *purra*, the word *much’a*, face or front, is often used, particularly in the spoken dialects, and sometimes with the augmentative particle *su*; and in the dialect of *Bengal*, *sho*; thus they say *sho muc’h*, right in front, due east. Though equally grammatical, yet it is not usual to say, *Su-para*, *Su-purva*, *Sho-para*, or *Sho-purva*, in that sense. It seems, however, that it was once in use; for, in Scripture

we have *Parvaim* and *Se-parvaim*, or *Se-pharvaim*, the name of a country the situation of which is by no means well ascertained ; yet it is probable that it was near the mountains of *Se-phar*, or *Se-para*, towards the east, according to Scripture ; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that *Parvaim*, *Se-pharvaim*, with the mountains of *Se-phar*, belong to the same country, which I take to be *India*, called by the *Copts*, *Sopheir*, and by no means to be confounded with *Ophir*. *India* is also called by *Hesychius* and *Josephus*, *Su-phir*, or *Su-pheir* ; and *So-phara*, by *Procopius*.^a—The *Jews* and the *Arabians*, to this day, call the south *Yaman*, *Yamin*, and *Jamin*, which imply the right. The *Hindoos* call the south also *Yámya* or *Jámya*, and *Yámasya*, because *Yama* (*Pluto*) called also *Yaman*, is the guardian of that quarter ; and when *Pliny*^b says, that the *Hindus* called the South *Dramasa*, it should be *Diamasa*, from *Jamasya*, as *Diamuna* for *Jamuná*, the river *Jumna*. We have seen that *dexion* in Greek, and *dexter dexterum* in Latin, are derived from the Sanscrit *dachshin'a*, *dacsha-tír*, and *dacsha-tíram* ; and it is not improbable but that *sinister sinistrum sinisterium*, or the left in Latin, and *aristeros aristeron* in Greek, are equally derived from the Sanscrit *senis-tír*, or *senis-tíram*, and *A'rasya-tíram*, or *A'ras-tíram*, that is to say, *Saturn's* quarter, in the same manner that the *Hindus* say *Yama's*, quarter for the south ; for *Senih* or *A'rah*, resided in the north. *Jupiter* gave him that quarter for his residence, and made him guardian of it. *Saturn*, according to *Cicero* and *Plutarch*, was peculiarly worshipped by the nations in the western parts of *Europe*, and in the north ; though the latter says, that in process of time, his worship began gradually to decline there. He was born in the left, and perished in the right. The *Greeks* and *Romans* considered the south as on the right, and the north on the left.”—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 275, 278, 281.

D. *Division of the Earth*, § III. Captain *Wilford*, in speaking of *Indian Geography*, says:—“ Another division of the world, is into a mainland and islands, which is also that of

^a *Procopius* in *Schol. ad Lib. 3, Regum*.

^b *Lib. VI. c. xix.*

Scripture, in which the isles of the nations, or *Jie-hágoim*, are often mentioned. This division has also been admitted by *Musulmans*, who call them *Jezair-alomam*. Commentators understand by them, not only the islands, but also the peninsulas in the western parts of the old continent; for in Sanscrit, *dwipa* implies only a country with waters on both sides; so that, like *Jazirah* in Arabic, they may signify either islands or peninsulas; *dwipa'* and *Jazirah*, are often used to signify countries bordering upon the sea only. By the isles of nations, the islands, peninsulas, and maritime countries in the west, and particularly in *Europe*, are understood; it is even so with the *Pauránics*, who are very little acquainted with the eastern part of the old continent, even to a surprising degree, and much less than we could reasonably suppose."—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 284.

E. *Description of a Desert.*^a See § V.—“To paint to himself these deserts, the reader must imagine a sky almost perpetually inflamed, and without clouds; immense and boundless plains, without houses, trees, rivulets, or hills, where the eye frequently meets nothing but an extensive and uniform horizon like the sea, though in some places the ground is uneven and stony. Almost invariably naked on every side, the earth presents nothing but a few wild plants thinly scattered, and thickets whose solitude is rarely disturbed but by antelopes, hares, locusts, and rats. Such is the nature of nearly the whole country, which extends six hundred leagues in length, and three hundred in breadth, and stretches from Aleppo to the Arabian sea, and from Egypt to the Persian Gulf. It must not, however, be imagined that the soil, in so great an extent, is every where the same; it varies considerably in different places. On the frontiers of Syria, for example, the earth is in general fat and cultivable, nay even fruitful. It is the same also on the banks of the Euphrates, but in the internal parts of the country, and towards the south, it becomes white and chalky, as in the parallel of Damascus; rocky as in the Tih, i. e. in the desert of Sinai, and the Hedjaz, a district of

^a On account of the length of this extract from Volney, I have transferred it hither from Rosenmuller's Notes to § V.—M.

Arabia on the Red Sea, and a pure sand as to the eastward of the Yemen. This variety in the qualities of the soil is productive of some minute differences in the condition of the Bedouins. For instance, in the more sterile countries, that is those which produce but few plants, the tribes are feeble and very distant; which is the case in the desert of Suez, that of the Red Sea, and the interior of the Great Desert called the Najd. When the soil is more fruitful, as between Damascus and the Euphrates, the tribes are more numerous and less remote from each other; and lastly, in the cultivated districts, such as the pachalics of Aleppo, the Hauran, and the neighbourhood of Gaza, the camps are frequent and contiguous. In the former instances the Bedouins are purely shepherds, and subsist only on the produce of their herds, and on a few dates and flesh meat, which they eat either fresh or dried in the sun and reduced to a powder. In the latter they sow some land, and add cheese, barley, and even rice to their flesh and milk meats. If we examine the causes of the sterility and uncultivated state of the desert, we shall find it is principally to be attributed to the absence of fountains and rivers, and in general to the want of water. This want of water itself is occasioned by the nature of the country, which being flat and destitute of mountains, the clouds glide over its heated surface, as I have already remarked is the case with Egypt. They never rest there but in winter, when the coldness of the atmosphere hinders them from rising, and dissolves them into rain. The nakedness of this country is also another cause of drought, since the air is for that reason more easily heated, and compels the clouds to rise. It is probable that a change of climate might be effected, if the whole desert were planted with trees, as for example with pine trees."

With this graphic sketch, which is by Volney, (Travels, &c. Vol. I. p. 383, Eng. Transl.) the reader may compare the more elaborate and finished picture given by Sir Walter Scott in the *Tales of the Crusaders*, ("The Talisman," chap. I.) which eastern travellers acknowledge to be the best description of a desert that has ever been written. See also the journeys of Morier, Ker

Porter, Burnes, &c. and the spirited delineation of desert scenery contained in the “Kuzzilbash” and other writings of Fraser.

F. *The Mount of the Gods*, § VI.—Comp. Winer’s *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*. article *Berg des Stifts*. “In the book *Kärnä-Vipakä*, it is said, that the heavens of Vishnu, Bramha, and Shiva, are upon the three summits of the mountain *Su-Meru*, and at the foot of these are the heavens of one-and-twenty other gods.” Ward’s *View of the Hindoos*, Vol. I. p. 13, note. “The Mount *Maha-Meru*, that is the Great *Meru*,” says Father Louchet (*Lettres Edifiantes*, Tom IX. p. 41,) “is not improbably the Mount *Meros* of the Greeks, where *Bacchus* was born and where the court of the gods was held.” The following extracts on this head are from papers communicated by Captain Wilford to the Asiatic Society, and published in their *Researches*. The reader may compare *La Croze Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, *Wilson’s Sanscrit Dictionary*, article *Mēru*, &c.

“The Hindoos generally consider this spot as the abode of the gods, but by no means as the place in which the primogenitors of mankind were created. As it is written in the *Purānas*, that on Mount *Mēru* there is an eternal day, for the space of fourteen degrees round *Su-meru*, and, of course, an eternal night for the same space on the opposite side; the Hindoos have been forced to suppose that *Su-meru* is exactly at the *apex*, or summit of the shadow of the earth; and, that from the earth to this summit, there is an immense conical hill, solid like the rest of the globe, but invisible, impalpable, and pervious to mankind: on the sides of this mountain are various mansions rising in eminence and pre-excellence as you ascend, and destined for the place of residence of the blessed, according to their merits. God and the principal deities are supposed to be seated in the sides of the north, on the summit of this mountain, which is called also *Sabha*, or of the congregation. This opinion is of the greatest antiquity, as it is alluded to by *Isaiah*, almost in the words of the *Pauranics*. This prophet, describing the fate of the chief of the *Daityas*, introduces him saying,

“ that he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and would sit on *the mount of the congregation*, in the sides of the north.” The *mountain* or hill of God is often alluded to in Scripture.”—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. vi. p. 488.

“ This sacred mountain, or heaven-like country, made part, it seems, of the sacred cosmography of the ancients. The *Jews* had some notions of it, and called it the mountain of God ; they afterwards, with great propriety, gave that name to Mount *Moriah*. The Greeks had their Mount Olympus, inaccessible but to the gods ; and *Idá-vratta*, or *Ilá-vratta*, signifies the circle of *Ila* the earth, which is called also *Idá*. Olympus is derived from the Sanscrit *Ilápu* or *Ilápus*, the holy city of *Ilá* or *Idá* ; thus it appears, that Olympus and *Ida* were originally the same. In remembrance of this holy circular space, the Greeks and Romans, when wishing to build a town, marked out a circle, which the first called *Olympus*, and the others *Mundus*, from the Sanscrit *Man'da*, a circle ; they said also *urbs orbis*, which is a translation of *man'da*, in the language of the gods, into that of mortals. According to Duperron, the Parsis are acquainted with such a mountain in the centre of the world, and so are the Musulmans to this day. It was not unknown to the Scythians, for they are introduced by Justin, saying, that their native country was situated on an elevated spot, higher than the rest of the world.”—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 316.

“ The most remarkable feature in this system is Mount Méru in the centre, the *Olympus* of the *Hindus*, the place of abode of *Bramah* and his *Sabhá* congregation, or court. This mountain made also part of the cosmographical system of the *Jews* ; for Isaiah, making use of such notions as were generally received in his time, introduces Lucifer, in Sanscrit *Swarbhánu*, or light of heaven, boasting that he would exalt his throne above the stars of God, and would sit on the mount of the congregation in the sides of the north. Méru has also the name of *Sabhá*, because the congregation or assembly of the gods is held there, on its northern side. Musulmans have admitted this mountain under the name of *Caf*, though they confound it in general with the mountains of *Lócàlóca*, which surround the world : but when they say it is the *valad* or pivot of the world,

this is to be understood of Mount *Méru*, which the *Pauranics* describe as exactly in the shape of a pivot; and even *Méru*, in Sanscrit, signifies an axis or pivot. According to Anquetil Duperron, the Parsis call this central mountain *Tireh*, and the whole world is equally surrounded by an immense range of mountains. In Ceylon this surrounding range is called *Chacravartta*, according to Captain Mahony,^a which, in Sanscrit, signifies any thing in the shape of a ring or coit."—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. viii. p. 284.

"The summit of *Méru* is represented as a circular plain of a vast extent, and surrounded by a base of hills; the whole is called *Ilávratta*, or the circle of *Ilá* and considered as a celestial earth, or *Swargabhúmi*; and it is thus called to this day by the people of *Tibet*, the *Chinese*, and the *Tartars*; and, like the *Hindus*, they have it in the greatest veneration, worshipping its encircling mountains whenever they descry them. According to De Guignes, the *Chinese* call them *Tien-c'han*, and the *Tartars* *Kiloman*, or the celestial mountains. In *Tibet* they call them *Tangra*, or *Tangla*, according to F. Cassiano and *Purán-gir*. The latter accompanied the late Lama to China, and gave me an accurate journal of his march from *Tissoo-Lumbo* to *Siling* or *Sining*. *Tingri*, in the language of the *Tartars* and *Moguls*, signifies the heavens; and even *Tibet* is called *Tibet-Tingri*, or the heavenly country of *Tibet*." *Asiat. Res.* Vol. viii. p. 314.

G. *Itinerary Measures*, § VII.—The following comparative table is from Bellermann's *Bibl. Literat.* II. p. 117.

Day's journey = $5\frac{1}{3}$ Kibrah = 20 Roman miles = 160 Stadia = 4 Geographical miles.

Kibrah = $3\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles = 5 Sabbath days' journey = 30 Stadia.

Mile = $1\frac{1}{4}$ Sabbath day's journey = 8 Stadia = $444\frac{2}{3}$ Kaneh or reeds.

Sabbath day's journey = 6 Stadia = $333\frac{1}{3}$ Kaneh = 2000 Israelitish Ells.

Stadium = $55\frac{2}{3}$ Kaneh = $666\frac{2}{3}$ paces = $333\frac{1}{3}$ Israelitish Ells.

^a Asiatic Researches, Vol. vii.

Kaneh or reed = 3 paces = 6 Israelitish = 9 Hebrew Ells.
 Pesa or pace = 2 Israelitish = 3 Hebrew Ells.

*Hebrew Measures in relation to the Israelitish Ell and the
 Rhenish foot.*

		Israelitish Ells.	Rhenish Feet.
Kibrah,	=	10,000	17685.0000
Mile, 8 Stadia,	=	2666 $\frac{2}{3}$	4916.0000
Sabbath day's journey, 6 Stadia,		2000	3337.0000
Stadium,	=	333 $\frac{1}{3}$	589.5000
Kaneh, or Measuring reed, (Calamus,)		6	10.6110
Pesa or pace, (passus,)		2	3.5370
The Israelitish Ell, <i>i. e.</i> the Large }		1	1.7685
Babylonish Ell or New Ammah, }			
The Hebrew, Natural or Little Ell, }		$\frac{2}{3}$	1.1790
<i>i. e.</i> the Old Ammah. }			
Zereth, Σπιθαμή or Span.	=	$\frac{1}{2}$	0.8842
Tephach or Palm, <i>i. e.</i> handbreath, Παλαιστῆ.		$\frac{1}{6}$	0.2947
Inch (Uncia or pollex,)		$\frac{1}{18}$	0.982
Ezba, Finger-breath, <i>i. e.</i> 6 barley-corns.		$\frac{1}{24}$	about 0.737

A geographical degree is = 15 geographical or German miles = 2958 Rhenish roods = 57120 toises = 25 French leagues = 69.5 English miles = 75 Roman miles = 600 Olympic stadia = 20 Kibrah = 100 Sabbath days' journeys.

Malte Brun (Précis de Geog. Tom I. Tab. xi.) reckons the parasang = 7200 paces, or 5 Kilometres; the Egyptian mile = 2880 paces, or 2 Kilom.; the Hebrew mile = 1.166 Kilom.; the Persian or Asiatic mile = 1.5 Kilom.; the Olympic Stadium = 185.37 Metres.

Comp. Eisenschmid de Ponder. et Mensuris. Argentor. 1703.
 Arbuthnot's Tables, Lond. 1754. D'Anville, Traité des Mesures Itinéraires, Par. 1765. Pauton, Metrologie, Par. 1780.
 Rome de L'Isle, Metrologie, Par. 1789.

CHAPTER II.

ANTEDILUVIAN GEOGRAPHY.

§ I.—EDEN AND PARADISE.¹

ACCORDING to the Mosaic narrative in the book of Genesis, the residence of the first human pair was a “garden,”² in the eastern part of a country called Eden,³ a word which signifies *pleasure or pleasantness*. In the garden^a there sprang up a stream, which, after watering it, became divided into four rivers, which have been supposed to denote these four principal rivers of the earth, as known to the people of the east,⁴ viz. the Phasis, the Jihoon or Araxes, the Tigris, and the Euphrates. But the stream of the garden of Eden whence the four great rivers took their rise is now sought for in vain.⁵ The rivers mentioned continue indeed to flow, but from different sources, which lie widely separate.⁶ [See the Appendix to the present chapter.]

1. The name *Paradise* has passed into all European languages from the Vulgate, which, in Gen. ii. 8, renders גן בעדן, by *Paradisum voluptatis*. In translating גן (garden) by *Paradisus*, the writer had followed the Greek of the Seventy, who have παράδεισον ἐν Ἑδέν. These Alexandrian Jews formed Παράδεισος from the Hebrew פרדס, *pardes*, which occurs Neh. ii. 8; Eccl.

^a The source of the river does not seem to have been within the garden. Comp. Gen. ii. 10. “A river went out of Eden to water the garden.”—M.

ii. 5; and Canticles iv. 13, and signifies a garden. Yet it is not an original Hebrew word, any more than the corresponding term ^{فردوس} فردوس is originally

Arabic. Of the latter it is said in the *Kamûs*. Vol. I.

p. 784, Calcutta Edit. ^{الفردوس} الفردوس ^{الاولدية} الاولدية التي ^{تنبت} تنبت

^{ضروباً} ضروباً من ^{النبات} النبات ^{والبستان} والبستان ^{يجمع} يجمع كل ما

^{يكون} يكون في ^{البساتين} البساتين ^{يكون} يكون فيه ^{الكروم} الكروم وقد

^{يؤتى} يؤتى ^{عربية} عربية او ^{رومية} رومية نقلت او ^{سريانية} سريانية *i. e.*

El Firdauso denotes vallies, which bring forth all kinds of plants; also a garden which contains whatever is wont to be in gardens—including vines. It is used in Arabic in the feminine, and is a word taken from the Greek or Syriac language.”^a It is a prevalent opinion that this word is of Persian derivation. But the term which in that language commonly signifies a garden is باغ *Bagh*; there is likewise چمن *Tshemen*, an orchard or pulse-garden, بوستان *Bustan*, or بستان *Bostan*, a garden of trees, a park, &c. It is not improbable that فردوس is of Armenian origin, as Schröder has remarked in the Preface to his *Thesaurus Ling. Arme-*

^a A learned friend suggests a doubt, whether the last part of this extract from Firuzabadi be correctly rendered by Rosenmüller. He would translate: “And it is feminine:—Arabic or Greek, it is said, or Syriac,” implying that the lexicographer did not positively deny its Arabic origin.—M.

nicæ, p. 56 ; Armenicam esse vocem *Pardes*, non tantum ejus adhuc frequens usus, sed et compositio ipsa docet, cujus voces simplices Armenis obviæ sunt ; componitur enim ex *Part ses*, i. e. *necessaria graminum vel olera*. Estque Armenis *Pardes* hortus domui semper proximus, graminibus, herbis, floribus, ad usum et ornatum consitus, distinguendus ab *Aig*, vinea. [See the foot note b in p. 49.]

2. "The first abode of man was a garden. For new-born-man it was the easiest way of life, since every other, that of the husbandman not excepted, requires art and experience of various kinds. This trait also indicates what the whole disposition of our nature confirms, that man was not formed to live wild, but in tranquillity ; and thus as the Creator best knew the destination of his creatures, man, like all the rest, was created, as it were in his element, in the seat of that kind of life for which he was intended." Herder's *Outlines of a Philosophy of the History of Man*. English Translation, by Churchill, Vol. i. p. 307.

3. עֵדֶן Arabic ^سعَدْنٌ, which Firuzabadi in his ^سقاموس (B. ii. p. 786) explains by ^سالنعمة واللذة *pleasantness and loveliness*. Similar in sound and meaning is the Greek ἡδονή, *voluptas*. Some would translate גֶּן-עֵדֶן "a garden in a pleasant country." But that *Eden* is here the proper name of a certain tract of land is evident from its being said (Gen. iv. 16,) that Nod lay to the east of Eden. The same word also occurs (2 Kings xix. 12 ; Isa. xxxvii. 12,) as the name of a district of Mesopotamia or Assyria, and in Ainos i. 5, of a pleasant vale near Damascus.

Only it is to be observed that עֵדֶן, the seat of Paradise, is always written with the vowel-points Zere (..) and Segol (◌ִ) (Gen. ii. 8, 15; iii. 23; iv. 16; Isa. li. 3; Ezek. xxviii. 13; xxxi. 9; Joel ii. 3); but when used of another country, it is written עֶדֶן with a double Segol. Hasse (in his *Entdeckungen*, I. p. 65,) thinks עֶדֶן signifies a *strong, lasting, durable dwelling*, (like the Arabic عَدْنُ) a land of long life and abode, a *Macrobia*. “And so indeed, says he, is it set forth in Scripture. For Paradise, which was in Eden, contained *the tree of life*, of which it is expressly said, that whoever ate of it should live for ever.” Gen. ii. 9; iii. 23. He then refers to the Greek tradition regarding a Hyperborean^a people, called the Macrobiai, and their country Macrobia, (*i. e.* the land of longevity), who were supposed to live for centuries in a state of paradisaical tranquillity. He farther urges that in the Koran (*e. g.* Sur. ix. 73; xx. 78,) the heavenly paradise is styled جَنَّاتِ عَدْنٍ *the gardens of perpetual abode*. Yet, as in the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, the verb עָדַן, Neh. ix. 25, and the nouns עֲדֹנִים, 2 Sam. i. 24; Ps. xxxvi. 9, and עֲדֹנָה, Gen. xviii. 12, are unquestionably employed to express the idea of *pleasure, delight*, it seems safer to hold by the commonly received opinion.^b

^a Others place the Macrobi in Ethiopia, (*e. g.* Pompon. Mela, i. 10, who also calls them Meroëni;) but as Hasse finds the seat of Paradise in Prussia, it suits his scheme better to seek them in the North.—M.

^b "The word *Eden* is perhaps derived from the Sanscrit, *Udyán*, a garden." *Wilford* in the *Asiat. Res.* vi. p. 488.

4. Wahl in his work on Asia, (p. 853, note) refers to Munedshem Baashy Ahhmed Efendy, who, in his Sketch of the Universal History of the East, (a collection from the most ancient and valuable historical and sacred writers of Arabia and Persia) says, "Paradise lay in the middle of Aden, the region of delight; it was watered by a wonderful river, the source of four rivers of the East, Jihoon, Sihoon, Dijlat and Fraat."

5. "Where lay the garden in which the Creator placed his gentle, defenceless creature?" As the tradition is from the west of Asia, it places it "eastwards, and farther up toward the rising of the sun, on a height from which flowed a stream, that afterwards divided itself into four great rivers." No tradition can display less partiality; for while every ancient nation is desirous of representing itself as the first, and its land as the birth place of mankind, this removes the primitive country to a distance, on the highest ridge of the habitable earth. And where is this height? Where do the four rivers that are mentioned arise from one stream, as the original writing plainly says? No where in our geography; and it is in vain to torture the names of the rivers in a thousand ways; for an impartial view of the map of the world informs us that the Euphrates and the three other rivers flow from one source or stream nowhere upon earth. But if we recollect the traditions of all the Upper Asiatics,

note. It is said by Wilson—(Sanskrit Dict.) to signify "a royal garden," and is derived from *ud*, up, and *yā*, to go. In the same language, *paradēsha*, *paradīsha* denotes, according to Gesenius, *terra elatior, bene culta*.—M.

we shall find in them all this paradise on the loftiest land of the globe, with its original living fountain, with its rivers fertilizing the world. Chinese and Thibetians, Hindoos and Persians, speak of this primitive mountain, of the creation round which lands, seas and islands lie, and from the cloud-capped summit of which the earth has received the boon of its rivers. This tradition is not void of physical principles ; without mountains our earth could have no running waters, and the map shews, that all the rivers of Asia flow from these heights. Accordingly, the tradition we are explaining, passes by every thing fabulous, respecting the rivers of paradise, and names four of the most generally known, which flow from the mountains of Asia. It is true these proceed not from one stream ; but to the later collector of these traditions, it was sufficient to indicate a remote part of the east, as the primitive seat of mankind." Herder's *Philosophy of the History of Mankind*, Eng. Translation, Vol. I. p. 508.

6. Rosenmüller here enters into some speculations respecting the History of the Fall, which I omit, as having no bearing upon the main subject ; but the leading illustrations are subjoined.

The Eden of the Parsees.—The *Vendidad*, which is the twentieth part of the Zend-Avesta, and is read by the Mobeds (priests of the Parsees) instead of a Liturgy, begins with the following words: Ormuzd spake to Sapetman (the excellent) Zoroaster: I have created, O Sapetman Zoroaster, a place of delights and of abundance ; no one could make its equal. Came not this region of pleasure from me, O Sapetman Zoroaster—no being could have created it. It is called Eerienè Vējô—it is more beau-

tiful than the whole world, wide as it is. Nothing can equal the charms of that country of pleasure which I have created. The first habitation of blessedness and abundance, which I, who am Ormuzd, created, without any impurity, was Eerienè Vējô. Thereupon came Ahriman, pregnant with death, and prepared in the river which watered Eerienè Vējô, the great serpent of winter that comes from *Dew*." *Eerienè Vējô*, ایران ویج

that is, the Pure Iran, denotes the beautiful country of Erivan in Armenia, watered by the Khur and the Aras, (the Cyrus and Araxes) which may also be considered as a part of northern Media. A district in it where Zoroaster was born, (according to the Bundesh in Zend-Avesta, Book III.) was called *Hedenesh*, or *Heden*, which word in the Pehlevi language signifies *a place of rest*. Wahl has the probable conjecture that it is the tract called by Ptolemy and Stephanus Ωτηνη (incorrectly Μωτηνη) Comp. *Hyde de Relig. Vet. Persar.* p. 171, *Wahl's Asia*, p. 524. *Cellarii Geog. Ant.* Tom. II. p. 325. *Zend-Avesta* by *Kleuker*, Part II. p. 53, 299.

The Tree of Life.—The Zend books likewise mention *a tree of life*. In the Bundesh, (that part of the Zend-Avesta which contains the cosmogony of the ancient Persians) it is said: "Among these trees, is the white, salubrious, and fruitful *Hom*; it grows in the fountain of Arduisur, which springs from the throne of Ormuzd; whoever drinks of the water or the sap of this tree becomes immortal. It is called *Gokeren*, as it is written. "The death-exPELLING *Hom* was given for the raising of the dead to life. It is the king of trees." In the Indian tradi-

tions, mention is made of the tree of Paradise, *Kalpaurksham*, which contains the drink and food of immortality, promised to the inferior deities or good genii. See the Account of the Brahminical Mythology, according to the Latin work of Father Paulus à S. Bartholomæus, Gotha, 1797, p. 244.

SECT. II.—THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE.

The stream of paradise, after it had watered the garden, divided itself into four *heads*,¹ *i. e.* principal rivers, Gen. ii. 10. By these are no doubt intended the four largest rivers of Upper and Middle Asia, which were more or less known to the Hebrews. The Arabian geographers specify the same number of rivers, and they agree also with the Mosaic narrative in the names given to them, with only one exception.² The order in which they are enumerated, is, according to the position of their sources from north to south—the Phishon, the Gihon, the Hiddekel, and the Phraat.^a

^a “ The Hindus place the terrestrial Paradise on the elevated plains of *Bukhara the Lesser*, where there is a river which goes round *Brahmápuri*, or the town of *Brahma*; then through a lake called *Mansarovara*, (the existence of which is very doubtful,) and is erroneously supposed by travelling fakeers to be the same with that from which the Ganges issues, which is called in *Sanscrit*, *Bindu Sarovara*. From the *Mansarovara* lake come *four* rivers running towards the four corners of the world, through four rocks cut in the shape of the heads of four animals. The *Cow's* head is toward the south, and from it issues the *Gangá*; toward the west is a Horse's

1. The *Pishon* or *Phishon*³ was the most northerly of the streams, and the farthest from Palestine; and being thus the least known to the Hebrews, Moses found it necessary to give a minuter description of its course. The name Phishon suggests the *Phasis*,^a a celebrated river of antiquity;—though, indeed, that appellation was given to more than one river, and, like several other proper names of rivers, it seems to have originally denoted in almost all languages a river generally.⁴ By the Phasis, however, is commonly understood that stream, which, in the lower part of its course, is still called by the Iberians *Pehàs*, by the Persians and Turks *Phash*.⁵ It rises in the Caucasian range of Soani, runs towards the west, traverses Iberia (the ancient Colchis,) and falls into the Black Sea.⁶ In its upper course, where it is called the Rioni, it is rapid and impetuous, but after passing the fortress of Kutais, the seat of the Czar of Imeritia, it flows more smoothly; the mouth is about half-a-league broad.^b Yet the name Phasis is also head, from which springs the *Chocshu* or Chocshus: it is the *Oxus*. The *Sitá-Ganga*, or Hoang-ho, issues from an *Elephant's* head; and lastly, the *Bhadra-gangá* or *Yenisea* in *Siberia*, from a *Tiger's* head, or a *Lion's* head according to others." *Wilford* in the *Asiatic Researches*, VI. p. 483.—M.

^a The final syllables *on* and *is* are not essential to the words, but are additions required by the different genius of the two languages.

^b "In old times the Rione or Phasis, had 120 bridges over it, and there was a continual transfer of merchandise that united

given by *Xenophon* (in his description of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Book IV. chap. 6,) and after him by other ancient authors, to a river in Southern Armenia, namely the *Aras*, *Araxes*, *Arashi*, which, after it has received the *Kur*, the *Cyrus* of the ancients, discharges itself into the Caspian Sea.⁷ To decide whether of these two rivers Phasis is intended by the Hebrew Phison is impossible.⁸ They appear to have been often confounded together;⁹ though, in the Zend books they are clearly distinguished, the Phasis being called the Pueteke,¹⁰ and the Araxes the Voorokeshē.¹¹ But it is the latter that is chiefly celebrated as the stream which received the seed of life, and spread it over the earth so as to fertilize all lands.¹² If, as we suppose, (see the next section,) the land of Havilah be Colchis, that circumstance would confirm the opinion, that the *Phishon* is the Phasis of Iberia.¹³

2. The second of the rivers is the *Gihon* (Gen. ii. 10, 13,) or, according to the Arabic and Persian pronunciation, the *Jihoon*.¹⁴ This, to the present day, denotes throughout the East, that great river, which, by the Greeks and Romans, was called the Oxus¹⁵ and has always been

in some measure this river to the Cyrus, and consequently the Caspian to the Black Sea; it is now crossed only in small boats of the hollowed trunks of trees." Malte Brun's Geography, ii. p. 37. See Reineggs and Guldenstedt on the Caucasus, and Ker Porter's Travels, I. p. 112.—M.

regarded as one of the principal rivers of Eastern Asia.^a Its importance was early marked by the designation of a certain region, as the *country beyond the river*, that is, the tract called by the ancient Persians, *Turan*,¹⁶ by the Macedonians and Romans *Transoxania*, and by the Arabs, *Mawarannahar*.¹⁷ It was to the Hebrews the remotest of the four rivers towards the east, and seems to have been but imperfectly known to them. The Greeks appear to have been ignorant of it until the time of Alexander the Great, and even then they became acquainted only with the middle part of its course, where the Conqueror crossed it with his army on his way to Sogdiana.¹⁸ For precise accounts of its origin and course we are indebted to modern researches.¹⁹ It rises in the snowy mountains of Little Thibet—traverses in a north-westerly direction, under the name of the Koksha, the Alpine tracts of Badzachshan, Chotlan, and Wachsi, within which it is joined by five great rivers; and reaches the middle of its course at Termed, to the north of Balkh. Thence, under the name of the Amu, or Amu-Daria, it flows towards Kharesm, a dis-

^a For the latest and most accurate accounts of the Oxus, see the Travels of our enterprising countryman Burnes. In here identifying the Gihon with the Oxus, Rosenmüller contradicts the opinion he seemed to give in Sect. I. that it is the Araxes. It is admitted that in the language of the east, the Oxus is the Jihoon *par excellence*; yet the Araxes is often called the Jihoon-el-Ras.—M.

trict bordering the Caspian Sea, on the south-east. Here the Jihoon is divided into several arms, some of which run into the Caspian, and some into the Lake of Aral, while others are lost in the sand.^{a 20}

3. Much better known to the Hebrews than either of these streams was the third river, the *Hiddekel*, called by the Aramaeans *Digla*, by the Arabs *Dijlat*, by the Greeks and Romans *Tigris*.²¹ Its sources, however, are as yet but obscurely known. According to an account which the elder Pliny²² had probably received from Roman generals, the Tigris has its rise in two springs, whose waters unite into one stream below Diarbekr, to the south of Hhasn-Keifa (Castellum Cepha.) The eastern arm rises in Great Armenia, near Elegosine, at the west end of the Lake of Van,^b flows through the salt lake of Arethusa, is lost under the mountain range of Niphātes, a part of the chain of Taurus, appears again after a course of twenty-five (Roman) miles at Zoroanda, and after passing through the Lake of Arzen, joins the Western Tigris. Later accounts²³ bear, that the Tigris is formed from several rapid mountain streams, which, descending from the up-

^a The question about the *embouchure* of the Oxus is one of the most curious in Geography. See it discussed in Malte Brun, ii. 318.—M.

^b The *Arsissa Palus* of Ptolemy, and the Mantian Lake of Strabo.—M.

per valleys of the Taurus, collect in the elevated plain above Diarbekr. A recent traveller through these countries, Sir Robert Ker Porter,²⁴ says, that the sources of the Tigris are in the Armenian mountains, about fifty (English) miles north-west of the Valley of Diarbekr. At and below that town, the Tigris is still an inconsiderable stream, but it is perceptibly enlarged by the accession of the river of Miafara-kin; and being joined by other important tributaries, rushes with great rapidity along a rocky channel past Mosul.²⁵ The river is there only 300 feet wide,²⁶ but very impetuous in its course, and, when suddenly swollen by the melting of the snows, destroys the bridges of boats which connect Nunia on the east bank with Mosul on the west. The rafts, called *Kelleks*,²⁷ which are constructed of inflated sheep skins, are sent hence down to Bagdad. In the middle part of its course, from Mosul to Korneh, the banks of the Tigris, once the seat of high culture, and the residence of mighty kings, are now desolate, covered with relics of ancient greatness, in the ruins of fortresses, mounds, and dams, which had been erected for the defence or irrigation of the country. At the castle of Nimrud, eight leagues below Mosul, is a large stone dam on both sides of the river, a work of great skill and labour, and now venerable for its antiquity.²⁸ Above Tekrit, the Tigris leaves the high land, rushing through the mountain

pass of Hameryn with a rapidity that is dangerous to unskilful navigators.²⁹ Yet rocky banks occasionally occur below, till within two days' journey of Bagdad, where it is joined by the Odorneh. It is thence navigable for flat boats of from twenty to thirty tons burden; though all the way to Bagdad the eastern bank is still precipitous, covered with thick jungles, which are the resort of all kinds of wild beasts.³⁰ At Korneh, between Bagdad and Basra (Bassora), the Euphrates and Tigris unite; the combined stream receives the name of the *Shat-el-Arab*,^{31 a} and after a course of thirty geographical miles, runs through several mouths into the Persian Gulf.³²

4. The *Fraat*³³ is still the name of the stream which was called by the Greeks and Romans the *Euphrates*, and by the Hebrews the *Great River*, or simply the *River*.³⁴ The following description of it is chiefly taken from the account of Sir R. K. Porter.³⁵ Although not so rapid as its twin-river, the Tigris, it is far more majestic, and has a longer course. It rises from three springs in the mountains of Armenia. The uppermost source is a few miles north of Arzeroom, and the river is there called *Kara-Su*,^b a name which is common to rivers in Persia.³⁶ The second source is about thirty miles south of Arzeroom, and forms what is termed the *West Frat*; and the third is many miles eastward,

^a *i. e.* the river of Arabia.

^b *i. e.* the Black Water.

not far from Bayazid. After these three streams have traversed in a south-westerly direction, many a rugged dell and fruitful valley, they unite their waters into one channel, at the foot of a mountain, nearly opposite the source of the Tigris. It then becomes a large river, which runs to the south and south-west, almost parallel with the Tigris, until they unite at Korneh, (as above described) and form the *Shat-el-Arab*, which discharges itself into the Persian Gulf, seventy miles south of Basra. The name *Frat*, according to Josephus, signifies *fertility* and also *dispersion*,³⁷ and both these meanings correspond to the nature of the river. The length of its course is not less than 1400 English miles, but the breadth, even after it has attained its full size, is very variable. Between the ruins of the Kasr and the village of Anana, it is 450 feet broad; having been in the time of Strabo of the width of a stadium, which, reckoning the stadium at 500 feet, is no material difference. Wherever Porter had an opportunity of estimating the width, he never found it to exceed 700 feet. In spring, the waters of the Euphrates begin to rise sooner than those of the Tigris. Early in March there is a perceptible elevation, and by the end of April it reaches its greatest height, which is twelve feet above the ordinary level. It remains in this state till the end of June, when the water subsides into its former channel, and resumes its wonted equable flow. In the middle of winter,

generally about the month of January, a partial rising of the waters is observed, which very quickly disappears. But the sudden and impetuous inundations of spring, present an appearance of awful grandeur. When the Euphrates (says Rich, as reported by Sir R. K. Porter) reaches its greatest elevation, it overflows the surrounding country, fills up, without the necessity of any human labour, the canals which are dug for the reception of its waters, and thus amazingly facilitates the operations of husbandry. The ruins of Babylon are then inundated, so as to render many parts inaccessible, the intermediate hollows being converted into marshes. But the most remarkable flood of the Euphrates is at Felugiah, twelve leagues west of Bagdad, where it bursts through the dam built to confine it in its channel, overflows the adjoining country, spreads itself to near the banks of the Tigris, and has withal such depth, as to become navigable for rafts and flat boats. Rich adds, that at the time he wrote this account (the 24th May, 1812) rafts laden with lime came daily, in consequence of this flood, from Felugiah to within a few yards of the northern gate of Bagdad, which is called the gate of Imam Musa.³⁸

When the Prophet Jeremiah says to the Jews (chap. ii. 18): *And now, why art thou upon the way to Egypt, to drink the water of Sihor (i. e. the Nile)? and why art thou upon the way to Assyria, to drink the water of the river (the Euphrates)?*

—this is not to be understood literally. To go into a foreign land, and drink the water of its rivers, signifies, in the figurative language of the prophets, “to repair for help to strangers.” And, in order to the full understanding of the allusion here, it is to be observed, that the water of both the rivers mentioned is naturally muddy,^a so that artificial means must be used to render it drinkable.³⁹ The idea then is this: that the Hebrew people in vain sought for safety in alliances with Egypt or Assyria; and yet, though the Nile and Euphrates could yield them only troubled and slimy water, they, nevertheless, preferred these streams to the “fountain of living waters,” (verse 13) even Jehovah, their God.

1. ראשים. J. D. *Michaelis*, and others after him, give to this word the meaning of *sources*, and translate the whole verse thus: “*Rivers* sprang up in Eden; they flowed in different directions, and had four sources.” This translation is not only forced, but positively erroneous. For if the last words of the verse had the sense which *Michaelis* attaches to them, it would have run thus וָהָיוּ לוֹ אַרְבַּעָה רִאשִׁים. The only correct rendering is: “A stream went out from Eden, to water the garden, and from thence (*namely*,

^a In note 39, the author shews this to be true of the Euphrates; and even of the Nile, whose water is so delicious and far-famed, Niebuhr says (Travels, Vol. I. p. 71) that the water is always somewhat muddy; but by rubbing with bitter almonds, prepared in a particular manner, the earthen jars in which it is kept, it is rendered clear, light, and salutary.—M.

after it had watered the garden) it divided itself, and became into four heads, or chief rivers.”^a In the following verse it is said, שם האֹהֶר, the name of the first, viz. ראש which is to be supplied from the ראשים immediately preceding; and in verse 13, ושם הנהר השני, where נהר *river* is evidently synonymous with ראש *head*.

2. See above, Note 4, to Sect. I. of the present chapter.

3. פישון, in the Septuagint Φεισών. If we seek the etymology in a root of the Hebrew or some cognate language, פוש presents itself, which signifies in Chald. to *grow*, to *increase*. Then פישון (like חיצון from חוץ) may denote a *large, mighty river*, after the same analogy as in the Arabic فاض (for فيض) means to *be copious*, and in reference to water, to *overflow*; ^سفيض a *rich afflux of water*, and with the article, the *river Nile*. Josephus (Antiq. I. i. 3) gives the same meaning to the name *Pison*, which he took for the *Ganges*: Καὶ Φεισὼν μὲν σημαίνει δὲ πληθὺν τοῦνομα· ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδοικὴν φερόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅφ’ Ἑλλήνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος. He no doubt here followed the tradition or gloss of the Alexandrian Jews. Comp. Note 20, below.

4. As *Gihon*, (see note 14) *Amu*, *Don*, *Rhine*.^b

^a I am inclined to think that ראש here does not mean a *chief-river*, but rather a *river-head*. This is also *Gesenius*’ opinion; see his *Comment. on Isaiah*, II. p. 322. *Winer* in his *Bibl. Realwörterb.* [article *Eden* (p. 334 note,)] rejects both interpretations, and understands the river of Paradise to be personified—as a body with four heads!—M.

^b In German *Rhein*; so also the *Rhone*, both manifestly from *rinnen*, to *run*.—M.

5. فاش. The town lying at the mouth of the Phasis, and which was anciently known by the name of that river, is still called by the Suanes,^a *Passa*, *Puthi*, or *Pothi*, words evidently formed out of *Phasis*, as the letters p and f as well as s and t, are often interchanged. *Reineggs* Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. ii. p. 40. *Klaproth*, in his Travels in the Caucasus (Vol. ii. p. 22) says: The town and fortress of Pothi, at the mouth of the Rioni is called by the Turks قلعة فاش *Kalah Fash*, i. e. the Fort of Fash, from the Lower Rioni, which bears the name of the Fash, and suggests the ancient Phasis. By the Turks likewise the Rioni is designated فاش صوبي *Fass-suyi*, i. e. the water of Fash." *Puthi* is probably an abbreviation of *Pueteke*, the name of the Phasis in the Zend Books. See Note 10, below, *Klaproth*, Vol. ii. p. 33.

6. *Reineggs*, as last cited, p. 35. Comp. *Chardin's* Travels by Langles, Vol. i. p. 420. *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. ii. p. 909.

7. See *Wahl's* work on Asia, p. 770; *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. ii. p. 764, 806, 910.

8. Some suppose that the one anciently flowed into the other, so as to form but one stream. *Wahl*, in his work on Asia, is of opinion, that by the Pishon, Moses intended not one particular river, but the *basin* of the Caucasus, or its rivers generally.

9. *Voss* on Virgil's Georgics, p. 326, 854.

10. Thus it is said in the Vendidad, Fargard V.

^a The Suanes are a tribe of the Georgians. Their name signifies "the highlanders." See *Pallas' Travels in the South of Russia*, Vol. i.—M.

(*Zend. Avesta*, by *Kleuker*, Vol. ii. p. 323.) “Thou, O Ormuzd, pourest out water into the world; thou also pourest out water into the river Pueteke.” And again, “I, who am Ormuzd, let the water flow out into the world; also into the river Pueteke, which, when it is filled, is a pleasant river.”

11. See *Zend. Avesta*, B. ii. 323, Note a.

12. Jeschts Sadès lxxxvii. 6, *Zend. Avesta*, ii. 213, “Hereupon, O Zoroaster, Taschter (a star of benignant influence) shining in light and glory, darted with rapid course into the Zare (river) Voorokesche.....into the pure Zare, which gives life in profusion, which gives every day’s food in abundance, &c.” The ninth *carde* begins, p. 215; “Praise to the star of Taschter, which dispenses the seed of life, and scatters seed into the Zare Voorokesche.” See *Zend. Avesta*, i. 178, 179, the second edit. and ii. p. 178, 179.

13. For other opinions as to the Pishon, see the translator’s note at the end of this chapter.—M.

14. جيهون, גיחון, not to be confounded with جيهان the *Jihan* in Cilicia, the Pyramus of the Greeks; see *Goliüs* on *Alfargani*, p. 286, 292, and *Assemani’s Bibl. Orient.* Tom. ii. Dissert. de Monophysitis. The name גיחון does certainly originally signify a stream in general, from גיח to *break forth*, which verb is used in Job xl. 18, (or 23) of the breaking forth of a stream. Hence *Jihood* is found as a prefix to the names of other rivers, as *Jihood-él-Ras*, the *Araxes*; *Jihood-Kauk*, the *Ganges*; *Jihood-Atel*, the *Volga*. See *Reland’s*

Diss. de Situ Parad. § 16, p. 32. *Michaelis* Supp. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 298. But *Jihoon*, without any addition, is used exclusively of the *Oxus*. גִּיחוֹן is also the name of an aqueduct at Jerusalem. 1 Kings i. 33; 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

15. The name *Oxus* is derived from the *Kokscha*, which was the designation anciently given by the *aborigines* to this river, in the upper part of its course. See *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Vol. ii. p. 512.

16. Comp. *Ritter*, ii. p. 51.

17. ^{ما وراء} ^{النهر} ^{ما وراء النهر}. Meaning, what is *behind* or *beyond* the river.

18. See *Arrian's* Exped. of Alexander, III. 29. p. 250, Edit. of Raphelius.

19. More especially by the learned researches and critical acumen of *Ritter*, in his *Erdkunde*, II. p. 480, et seqq.

20. *Ritter*, as last cited, p. 665. *Wahl's* Asia, p. 754. The Egyptian Jews took the Gihon for the Nile, Ecclesiastic. xxiv. 37,—an opinion followed by Josephus in his Antiq. I. 1, 3. Γηών δὲ, διὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων, δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῖν· ὃν δὲ Νεῖλον Ἕλληνες προσαγορεύουσιν.

21. הַרְדִּי, אֶלְדִּי, אֶלְדִּי. That this stream derived its name from the rapid impetuosity of its course, is an ancient and universal opinion. According to the Rabbinical Commentators, הַרְדִּי is composed of רַדִּי *sharp, quick*, and הַר *light, swift*. So *Josephus*: Τίγρης δὲ Διγλάδ ἐξ οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ σπένετος ὄξύ. *Pliny* says in his Hist. Nat. vi. 27: Ipsius qua tardior fluit (nomen) *Diglito*; unde concii-

tatur, celeritate *Tigris* incipit vocari. Ita appellant Medi sagittam. But *Diglito* is still the common Syriac and Aramæan name of the river, and has been adopted by the Arabs; *Tigris*, on the other hand, was the Median name. In the Zend and Pehlevi, the remains of the ancient Median language, *Tedjerem* and *Tedjera* signify a *swift stream*, from the root, *tadjed*, it flows or rushes *rapidly*; *tagur* also, in the Pehlevi dialect means *speedy, swift*. But in the Kurd and Persian languages *Tir* (تیر) denotes an arrow, a javelin, and is moreover still the name of the river in question. *Diogenes Periegeta*, c. 913, calls the *Tigris* Ποταμῶν ὠκιστον ἀπάντων. *Curtius* says of this river (IV. 9): Nec sane alius ad Orientis plagam tam violentus invehitur; multorum torrentium non aquas solum, sed etiam saxa secum trahens: itaque a celeritate qua defluit *Tigris* nomen est inditum, quia Persicæ lingua *Tigrim* sagittam vocant. *Della Valle* indeed says (in his Travels, Letter 17th) that when he saw this stream, on the 18th October at the village of Imam Musa above Bagdad, it was not rolling so rapidly as the Euphrates. But the waters must have been then unusually low, or *Della Valle*'s description must be confined to that particular part of the river where it becomes very broad, and the flow is so sluggish as to be scarcely perceptible. The *Tigris* is also called by the Arabs السلام *as-Salām*, i. e. peace or prosperity. See below at Note 28.

22. Hist. Nat. iv. 27.

23. *Kinneir's* Geograph. Memoir of the Persian Empire. Lond. 1813, p. 10. *Jackson's* Journey

through Irak-Arabi, Aljezira, and Anadoli. (Weimar, 1803) p. 98.

24. Travels, Vol. ii. p. 258.

25. ^و ^ص ^ج *Mausel*, i. e. *connection, union*, so called from the bridges of boats at that place.

26. *Niebuhr's Travels*, II. p. 354. (Ger.)

27. The following is an abstract of Ker Porter's account. Vol. II. p. 259. The Tigris first becomes navigable for vessels of more than twenty tons, about sixty miles above^a Bagdad. Yet it is made serviceable for communication and trade, considerably higher up; since, by means of a kind of float called a *kelek*, the use of which is very ancient, passengers and goods (chiefly corn and copper,) are conveyed from Mosul to Bagdad. The construction of such a vessel is admirably adapted to the purpose. It consists of a raft in the form of a parallelogram; the trunks of two large trees, laid crosswise, serve as a foundation for the platform, which is formed of branches of osier twigs, fastened with admirable ingenuity to the stems below. This light superstructure rests upon sheepskins filled with air, which are so arranged, that, in the event of the air escaping, they can again be immediately inflated. The whole is then wattled and bound together with well twined wicker work, and a raised parapet of the same effectually protects the passengers and goods from the water. The vessel is

^a Rosenmüller has "below;" but on referring to the original of Sir R. Ker Porter's work, I find it should be "above."—M.

propelled by two large oars on each side, and a third at one end acts as a rudder. When the raft has reached its place of destination, and the cargo is discharged, the materials are sold, with the exception of the skins, which, after being exhausted of the air, are laid on camels, and carried back by the owners overland. In summer the voyage occupies eight or ten days, but in spring it may be performed in four or five, from which an estimate may be drawn of the increased rapidity of the river at that season. The impetuosity of the torrent prevents the return of these rafts by water. The *keleh*, however, is not the only singular vessel which is seen on these celebrated rivers, and whose invention is of ancient date. The *kufah*, an Arabic word, [كوفة], which signifies *a basket*, and which is the common wherry boat, appears no less remarkable. It is made of willows, closely twisted together, and well coated with the bitumen with which the country abounds, and which, while it renders it impervious to water, likewise serves to increase its buoyancy. Being perfectly round, it resembles a large bowl on the surface of the water, and has room enough for three or four persons, who cannot, however, sit in the most convenient posture. It is paddled across with ease, and without losing much way from the force of the current. Herodotus (I. 194,) describes both these kinds of boats, as having been, in his day, employed on the rivers of Babylon. He says, they were formed of willows and the skins of animals, and when they reached the great city, the owners sold all the materials, except the skins, which they took back with them upon asses. Porter says he was informed, that

a vessel of a curious construction, of the figure of a half moon, carrying one mast and a large latteen sail, and by which intercourse is carried on between Bagdad and Bussorah, reaches the latter place with a favourable wind in six or seven days. But the voyage is seldom undertaken, unless when a sufficient number assemble to form a fleet strong enough to keep in awe the Arab robbers who infest the river banks. A minute description of the *keleks* has also been given by Tavernier, in his Trav. Book II. ch. 5 and 6. Comp. Niebuhr's Trav. Vol. ii. p. 347, 354.

28. Niebuhr, as just quoted, p. 355. Owing to the circumstance of the canals from the Tigris watering the country and rendering it fruitful, this river has also received the Arabic name of نهر السلام *Nahar-as-salām*, *the river of peace or prosperity*, and hence the town of Bagdad, lying on this river, is called مدينة السلام *Medīnat-as-salām*, *the town of peace*, D'Herbelot indeed supposes, (Bib. Orient. art. *Digelat*) that the Tigris obtained that name, because Bagdad, as the seat of the Khalifat was designated دار السلام *Dar-as-salām*, the abode of peace or of prosperity. But in the Scholia to Hariri, edited by De Sacy, (p. 134,) it is expressly said, ^{٥٠} دجلة اسم السلام *As-salām*, the name of the Tigris," and hence the town of Bagdad is called مدينة السلام *Medīnat-as-Salām*.

29. This place is called, according to Niebuhr, Fätha, an Arabic word, (فتح^{٥٠}), which signifies an *opening*, and specially, *a place whence water gushes*.

30. "The Tigris is at Bagdad from 600 to 620 feet wide. There is a mean bridge laid upon thirty-four small boats, which are fastened together by three strong chains. In calm weather, or when the river is not rapid, this bridge is commodious enough. But when the wind and stream are in opposition, it becomes insecure; and when the river suddenly rises, it is often carried away. We had an instance of this in January 1768, during a strong south-east wind." *Niebuhr*, in the work last quoted, p. 298. He adds, that the difference between the highest and lowest elevation of the Tigris is about twenty feet. According to Ker Porter, (Vol. ii. p. 258,) the first rising of the Tigris occurs in April, and is caused by the melting of the winter snows in the mountains; the second takes place at the end of October or beginning of November, and immediately after the annual rains in the high regions. But it is only in spring that the country is covered by a complete inundation, and Bagdad stands like a castellated island, in the midst of a boundless sea.

31. شَطَّ الْعَرَبِ The former of these Arabic words signifies properly the *bank* of a river, and then the *stream* itself. The united stream in question, was called by the ancients *Pasitigris*.

32. A minute account of the course of the Tigris, and its numerous windings, according to the degrees of longitude and latitude, has been given by *Abulfeda* in the introduction to his geographical tables, a Latin translation of which by Reiske will be found in *Busching's Magazine for Hist. and Geog.*, Vol. iv. p.

161. Abulfeda, however, never uses the name *Shat-el-Arab* for the united river; but says the Tigris falls into the Persian Gulf at Abbadan عبادان.

33. ^وفَرَات *Forāt*.

34. הנהר הגדול Deut. i. 7. Jos. i. 4. הנהר Isa. vii. 20. Jer. ii. 18. Mic. vii. 12.

35. Travels, Vol. ii. p. 403.

36. The two words قَرَّة صو, are Turkish, the first signifies *black*, the second, *water*. Karah-Su, says Wahl (on Asia p. 701, Note) is the name of a great many rivers in Asia. It is a designation given to such as are reckoned impetuous and dangerous to cross. By the epithet *karah*, or black, applied to rivers or mountains, the Turks express the idea of peril and terror. On the other hand *ak*, اَق, denotes what is quiet, peaceful, safe." Ker Porter informs us, (Travels, Vol. ii. p. 673,) that not far from the village of Elija, near Arzeroom, he perceived the *Karah-Su*, flowing past the mountains to the north. It is one of the western sources of the Euphrates, and even there runs in a broad channel, being crossed by a bridge of six arches. The source itself is about thirty miles distant, in that branch of the Tchiller mountains, which is called the range of Auggi-Dahgler; the surrounding country bears the name of *Keldir*.

37. Antiqq. I. i. 3. Καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φορὰ, σημαίνει δὲ ἥτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἄνδρος.^a

^a The true etymology of the *Frat* will rather be found in the cognate Arabic terms denoting *sweet water*.—M.

38. On the Euphrates, see also *Wahl*, Asia, p. 700. *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. ii. p. 120, 130. Abulfeda describes its course in the work cited above at note 32, (p. 164.)

39. "The water of the Euphrates, says Rauwolf, (Trav. p. 139,) being always troubled, and consequently unfit for drinking, is placed in earthen jars or pitchers for an hour or two, until the sand and other impurities sink to the bottom, where they are soon found lying to the thickness of a man's finger." He then refers to the passage we have quoted from Jeremiah, as illustrative of this circumstance. Tavernier remarks, (ii. 4,) that the water of the Euphrates is reddish, and not so hard as that of the Tigris, which is whitish like the Loire. (See our foot note in p. 62.)

SECT III.—THE LAND OF HAVILAH.

"The Pishon," it is said in Gen. ii. 11, 12, "compasses the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good : there is *bdolach* and the stone *shoham*." If, as we have endeavoured to shew in the former section, the Pishon is the river Phasis, then the land of Havilah,¹ can be no other than Colchis. And this conclusion is supported, not only by the similarity of the two names in their essential sounds,² but also by the circumstance, that, according to the most ancient traditions, the Colchian Phasis was a river, which both yielded gold itself, and led to the gold country. It was to this river

that the Argonauts repaired, to carry off the golden fleece.^a Strabo relates,³ that in the country of the Soanes, a people of Colchis, the mountain streams yielded gold, which was collected in perforated troughs and wool skins; whence perhaps arose the tradition of the golden fleece. The second product of the land of Havilah, viz. *bdolach*, is most probably *bdellium*, called by the Greeks *bdolchon*, a precious gum highly esteemed by the ancients, which, when burned as frankincense, gives forth an aromatic perfume.^b The stone *shoham* is taken by some for the *smaragdus*, by others with greater probability, for the *onyx*. It is true that Greek and Roman writers do not specify *bdellium* and precious stones among the productions of Colchis. But Reland⁴ has correctly remarked, that the southern Asiatics may have included under the name of Havilah, a much larger tract than what the people of the north designated as Colchis; it may have been as undefined in its limits and extent, as was Scythia to the Greeks and Romans. Now the gems of Scythia, especially the *smaragdus*, were highly valued by the ancients.⁵ The Hebrews seem to have considered Havilah as an India of the north, or of Pontus, of which the Christian writers of the first century make

^a Hence the ancients proverbially called a dangerous voyage, "sailing to the Phasis."—M.

^b Another opinion makes *bdolach* to be *the pearl*.—M.

mention, as they also do of a Pontian or northern Æthiopia.⁶

The ancient Colchis extended from the Black Sea to Georgia, and comprised the territories which are now called Mingrelia⁷ and Gurriel.^a The country gradually rises from the sea-shore; the soil is very unequal, partly level, partly hilly and mountainous, and almost entirely covered with wood. The trees, says Chardin,⁸ propagate here so rapidly, that were not care taken to extirpate the roots in the fields and roads, the country would, in a short time, become one impenetrable forest. The climate is very temperate, it is subject neither to tempests nor thunder-storms, and even hail is rare. But the atmosphere is uncommonly moist; and there is almost constant rain. In summer, the heat of the sun operating on the dampness of the soil, raises noxious vapours, which engender the plague and other fatal disorders. To foreigners the climate is peculiarly pernicious; they become weak and emaciated; and the natives themselves seldom reach the age of sixty.^b Chardin says, that venomous animals lose in Mingrelia much of the virulence of their poison, and he ascribes this to the dampness of the air.

^a So in the original; but should it not be Guria?—the *Guriel* is the name of their prince.—M.

^b All this strikingly agrees with the account of Colchis given by Hippocrates.—M.

Almost all kinds of fruit grow wild; but from the want of proper culture, it is commonly insipid. Wine is produced everywhere in the greatest abundance. The vines attach themselves to the trees, their tendrils climbing to the highest tops. The wine would be the best in the world, if the Mingrelians knew how to manufacture it. The country is rich in horses; they are of a good quality, and reared at no expense, as they are allowed to range at will in the extensive pastures. Great havoc is often committed among them and the cattle, by the hyænas, jackals, and wolves, which come down from the wild dells of the Caucasus.

Mingrelia is governed by its own prince, who styles himself Lord of Egeria, (an ancient name of the country) and has for his subjects a professedly Christian, but very barbarous and marauding people, whose vices Chardin depicts in the darkest colours. “The entire population of Mingrelia,” says Reineggs,⁹ “is between eleven and twelve thousand families; they have the reputation of great bravery when fighting on horseback, and this, indeed, is the sum of their good qualities; for, as they live under a very mild climate, and occupy a most fruitful soil, which yields all the necessaries of life in abundance, and without much labour, they give themselves wholly up to listlessness and inactivity. Though their fertile fields lie on the

shores of the Euxine Sea, yet to navigation, trade, and fishing, the Mingrelians are utter strangers. Though mountains and rivers freely offer their treasures, yet they confine themselves to the care of bees and the rearing of cattle. They apply to the tillage of the ground only in so far as their necessities require, and gardening they altogether neglect, their fruitful soil spontaneously producing kitchen vegetables, fruits, grapes, and forests of chesnut trees, and all the old walls being covered with pomegranate and fig trees. The cultivation of silk in this country might be very flourishing and profitable; but it is only the indolent amusement of princesses and other females of noble families. The uncommonly fine forests of Mingrelia are neglected; the trees moulder through age, the inhabitants not requiring the wood for fuel, and allowing it to lie useless. The Mingrelians, however, are very active in religious ceremonies, and as their own language has no alphabet of its own, they make use of the Georgian prayer books.”^a

1. חַוִּילָה, Chavilah. Two countries and people of this name (the latter of different descent), are also mentioned, Gen. x. 7, 29; 1 Sam. xv. 7. But since these, as we shall afterwards see, belonged to Arabia, and our present inquiry evidently leads us to the north

^a Comp. with this account *Lagorio*, *Lettres sur la Mingrelie*, in the *Annales des Voyages*, Tom. ix.—M.

(see § II., p. 54), they do not now come under consideration.

2. At quomodo, dicet aliquis, ex Chavila potest fieri Colchis? Ea difficultas facilis superatu est, si attendamus ad scriptionem utriusque vocis orientalem: nam aut easdem literas radicales, aut literas ejusdem organi inter se mutatas continent. Qui enim sine praejudicio vocem חולח *Cholch*, unde addita terminatione *is*, *Colchis*, confert cum חוילח *Chavila*, facile videt, non adeo magnam esse inter has duas differentiam, quin longe majores admittere debeamus in aliis regionum et urbium nominibus, quae aut ab incolis, aut ab exteris, a prima pronuntiatione detorta sunt. Quam levis est mutatio ח in ח? Sunt literae ejusdem organi, et ח in fine a Graecis legi non poterat: debuit itaque mutari. In quam convenientius, quam ח? Inter ח enim et ח nil est, nisi differens gradus aspirationis. Ille minor, haec major est. Dein Κόλχης dixerunt per K, quod durum esset Graecis auribus Χόλχης, ad vitandam κακοφωνίαν, ut: φασέκ pro פסע, 2 Chron. xxx. 15, et 2 Chron. xxxv. 1, 6, scripsere Graeci interpretes, et κάβιλος a חביל ductum, et Ἀννακος a חניך, et 1 Reg. xi. 20, θεκεμίνης ex תחפנים. *Relandi Dissertatt. P. I. p. 17.*

3. Book xv. p. 499. *Casaubon's* Edit. Comp. Book I. p. 45.

4. *Reland* says in the Diss. quoted, p. 16: Ea nos tenet opinio, quod latior terrae tractus per Chavilam possit intelligi, si attendamus ad tempora Mosis, quum incogniti essent tractus septentrionales, nec tam distincte regionum termini, uti postea, quando Scythia in Europaeam et Asiaticam, et utraque in varias re-

giones distingui coepit. Nam et seculo Augustaeo quam exigua fuerit notitia terrarum ultra Phasin et Colchida sitarum, monumenta veterum Geographorum satis ostendunt. Quae quum ita sint, non puto nos nimis religiosos esse debere, et terram Chavilah praecise definire iisdem terminis, quibus Colchis vulgo definiri solet, sed latius licere nobis excurrere in Septentrionalem Asiam, ne videamur nos, praecise, Colchidi illa velle vindicare, quae Scythiae generatim, aut illis Scythiae partibus, quae mari Caspio propius adjacent, veteres videntur attribuisse.

5. *Pliny*, in his *Nat. Hist.* lxxxvii. 5, says, *Nobilissimi (Smaragdi) Scythici*, ab ea gente, in qua reperiuntur, appellati; et quantum *Smaragdi* a ceteris gemmis distant, tantum *Scythici* a ceteris *Smaragdis*. A precious kind of sapphire or *lapis lazuli* was procured from the *Sapiri*, a Scythian tribe, in the country of modern Georgia. *Ritter's Erdkunde*, II. p. 923.

6. See *Ritter's* learned researches on Colchana Septentrionalis and the Interior India, or India of Pontus, in his *Erdkunde*, II. p. 926, 930.

7. According to *Reineggs* (*Description of the Caucasus*, P. ii. p. 23.) *Ming-reul* or *Ming-rewl*, signifies in the Parthian language *a thousand springs* or clear rivulets, and thus describes a region that is verdant and blooming in consequence of the number of streams by which it is watered: upon this *Klaproth* remarks, (*Travels*, ii. p. 25.) “The name Mingrelia is very ancient; for even Ptolemy knew the nation of the *Maurali*. And *Reineggs* is very unfortunate in his etymology, when he derives it from the Parthian.

For, in the *first* place, it is difficult to comprehend how the natives themselves, and the Europeans who lived towards the west, came to impose upon this land a foreign name, which came from the south-east ; and, in the second place, it is natural to ask how did *Reineggs* become acquainted with the Parthian language, which is now almost extinct ? It certainly was not a Tartar dialect ; and yet it is only in Tartar that *مینگ*, *ming* signifies a *thousand*. If the Parthians used the Pehlevi tongue (which is highly probable), the word for a thousand in that language is *ragh* ; and in that case the etymology of *Reineggs* falls to the ground. The Mingrelians call themselves *Kadzariai*, from Kadzaro, a buck.

8. Voyages, Edit. of Langles, I. p. 150. The description which Chardin has given of Mingrelia is still the completest and best we possess.

9. As cited above, p. 29.

SECT IV.—THE LAND OF CUSH.

The country which was compassed by the second stream proceeding from the river of Paradise, was called in Hebrew *Cush* ;¹ a name that has been well rendered by Luther, *Mohrenland*, i. e. the Land of the Blacks ; for it appears from a passage in the prophecies of Jeremiah,² that a *Cushite* was the same as “ a man of colour.” The Hebrews, however, employed the name *Cush* in a narrow and in a more extended signification,

in much the same way as we do the word India. In the more limited sense, Cush was synonymous with Æthiopia, as well the African as the Asiatic. In the wider acceptation, Cush denoted *all the countries of the South*, or the Torrid Zone, in an undefined extent from west to east, the inhabitants being distinguished by the black or dusky colour of their skin. If the ancient Hebrews had any knowledge of the regions on the Indus and Ganges, there is no doubt that they included them likewise under the general designation of Cush.³ It is in this most extended sense of the term that we understand it in Gen. ii. 13, when it is said *that the river Gihon compasseth the whole land of Cush*.⁴

1. כוש. *Buttmann* in his *Aelt. Erdk. des Morgenl.* p. 40, note, derives this word from the root כוה *kava, kau, ku*, which signifies *to burn*, and with which other roots are connected, such as בור, a melting furnace or crucible. But this derivation is opposed to all the rules of analogy in the formation of Hebrew proper names.

2. Jerem. xiii. 23. הֲיִהְיֶה כוֹשֵׁי עוֹרִי. Can a black change his skin?

3. Cush corresponds, as *Buttmann*, (*ibid.* p. 39) has correctly remarked, to the Greek name Æthiopia. The one like the other is “originally merely the fixed appellation of the *Extreme South*; the region

which, according to the belief of the ancients, lay close upon the fiery zone, and the inhabitants of which were black, from being exposed to the scorching rays of the sun. Each nation placed its Cushites or Æthiopians to the south, throughout the whole of the earth's longitude, as known to them; so that the inhabitants of the region of the Euphrates would regard them as occupying the south coasts of Asia generally." "From Homer to Eratosthenes," says Voss (on Virgil's *Georgics*, p. 306,) "the earth, at first thought round, afterwards oblong, was divided by an imaginary line, drawn from east to west into two halves; the one to the south included Asia and Libya, that to the north being Europe; along the borders of the southern part of the circle was placed Æthiopia, which came gradually to comprize Colchians, Medes, Persians, Indians, Seres, Arabians, Pygmæi, and Macrobiani." Comp. Hartmann on Asia, Vol. i. p. 263.

4. Rosenmüller finding it impossible to reconcile his notion of Cush being in the extreme south, with the opinion, expressed in a former section, of the Gihon being the Oxus, a river of the north, places the discrepancy to the account of the "ignorance of the early Hebrews of the geography of remote countries;" an explanation which is subversive of the authority of the entire narrative, and which, therefore, I have not scrupled to omit.—M.

SECT V.—ASSHUR OR ASSYRIA.

Throughout the Old Testament, Assyria is designated by the name of *Asshur*.¹ In Gen. ii. 14, it is said that the Hiddekel or Tigris goes towards the fore-side of Asshur,² i. e. it flows to the east of Assyria. Yet the country commonly known as Assyria lay on the east side of the Tigris, and not on the west. Attempts have been made to solve the difficulty in various ways. Some suppose, that as Assyria was beyond the Tigris to the Hebrews, that river might be said to flow before Assyria.³ Others remark that Assyria was of very different extent at different periods,⁴ and was not confined to the east of the Tigris, but was sometimes held to include a part of Aram, or Syria.⁵

1. אשור.

2. חדקל הוא ההלך קדמת אשור.

3. So J. D. Michaelis translates: "The Tigris, this is the river that flows before Assyria;" and he adds in a note "the Tigris forms the western boundary of Assyria; hence, as Moses wrote in Arabia, it flowed *before* Assyria in reference to him." Yet, in the only other three places where קדמה occurs, viz. Gen. iv. 16. 1 Sam. xiii. 5. Ezek. xxxix. 11; it seems clearly to denote "towards the east." Jarchi paraphrases קדמת אשור by למזרחה של אשור on the eastern district of Asshur. See above chap. i. 2.

4. See Wahl's *Asia*, p. 304, *note*. "*Assyriæ vox*, says Huet, in his *Tract de Situ Parad.* p. 58 of the Leipzig Edit.—*duobus modis, vel in sensu strictiori, vel in sensu latiori magis intelligi potest. In stricto, Assyria provincia erat, angustis satis terminis circumscripta, in qua metropolis erat Ninive, et ista est provincia, quae Adiabene postea dicta fuit. Sed in sensu latiori magis Assyria plures easque magnas provincias complectebatur, regi Assyriæ subjectas et ejus imperium constituentes. In quocumque demum sensu Assyria accipiatur, certum est, Tigridem ejus respectu non fuisse ad Orientem. Huet, following the Septuagint, (ὁ πορευόμενος κατέναντι Ἀσσυρίων) renders: "qui vadit versus Assyriam."^a Buttmann (*Aelteste Erdk.* p. 48,) thinks it strange that while the Euphrates is mentioned without any adjunct as being well-known, a minuter description should have been given of its twin-stream the Tigris. But until the carrying away of the ten tribes into Assyria, the Jews must have been imperfectly acquainted with the countries on the Tigris; whereas the Euphrates was generally an accessible object, especially to the two tribes and a half who were located to the east of Jordan.*

5. Rosenmüller solves the perplexity here on the same principle as in the last section. See Translator's note there, (No. 4).—M.

§ VI.—THE LAND OF NOD.

When Cain, after the murder of his brother, went forth "from the presence of Jehovah,"¹ he

^a *Grabe's Edition* has *προπορευόμενος*. The Vulgate translates "ipse vadit contra Assyrios."—M.

settled in the land of Nod, which lay to the east of Eden,² Gen. iv. 16. The word *Nod* signifies in Hebrew *wandering, flight, banishment*;³ and the region doubtless obtained that name from the circumstance of the fratricide having been condemned by God (ver. 14,) to wander as a fugitive or exile.⁴ To ascertain the precise situation of the land of Nod is now impossible, ignorant as we are of the exact position of Eden itself. The Hebrews would naturally look for it towards the extreme east of Asia; and if they had any knowledge of the extensive *steppes* of Tartary, they would, in all probability, place the land of Nod there.⁵

1 ויצא קין מלפני יהוה. At a later period likewise, this phrase “to go forth from Jehovah,” implied “to go into a foreign land” where Jehovah was not. The prophet Jonah, when he betook himself to Tarshish, “went out from Jehovah’s presence.” Jon. i. 3, 10.

2 וישב בארץ נוד קדמת עון. The Sept. and Josephus call Nod, *Nazid*. On קדמת, see the last sect, note 3.

3. The Arabic نَوْدٌ, which corresponds to the Hebrew root נוד signifies *motus, agitatedus fuit, nutavit*; and the cognate term نَفٍ *fugax fuit, aufugit, huc illuc vagatus est*. Hasse (Entdeckungen, Part ii. p. 33,) renders נוד ארץ a land of exile, a foreign or barbarous country. Buttmann (Aelt. Erd. p. 56,) translates

“a land of misery;” remarking that the root whence *Nod* is derived, is sometimes found to involve this idea. See Jer. xxii. 10.

4. וְהָיִיתִי נֹד וְנָד בָּאָרֶץ.

5. This is also the idea of *Buttmann*, (ibid. p. 58.) “The Asiatic of the south must have heard of innumerable Nomadic tribes who roved through the interior of Asia, and especially over the eastern region; he must have known something of the interminable *steppes*, the southernmost of which began due east of Cashmere.” It may however be objected to this view, that Cain himself was a “tiller of the ground,” Gen. iv. 2, and his descendants are described as inventors of the arts, a circumstance which would be more characteristic of persons accustomed to a town life than of wandering hordes.^a And, indeed, Cain himself is said to have built *a city*. See the next section. Huet (de Situ Parad. p. 62,) finds Nod in the south-east of Persia; Grotius in Arabia Felix; Calmet in Nysa or Nysæa towards Hyrcania; Michaelis towards China; Hasse in the mountains of Caucasus.

§ VII.—THE CITY OF ENOCH OR CHANOKH.

The first city which is mentioned in the Bible, is Chanoch,¹ in the English version *Enoch*, built by Cain, and so called after his son, Gen. iv. 17. The country where this city was founded is not expressly mentioned; but as it is said

^a Yet one of Cain's posterity, *Jabal*, is mentioned as the first who followed the nomadic pastoral life. Gen. iv. 20.—M.

in the former verse, that Cain dwelt in the land of Nod, it is natural to conclude that it was there he built this city. Yet as we are ignorant of the situation of the land of Nod, the location of the city of Chanoch must also remain unknown.²

1. חֲנוֹךְ. J. E. Faber, in his *Archæology of the Hebrews*, Part. i. p. 36, will have the Hebrew word עִיר in this place to signify not a *city* but a *cave* like

the Arab. غار, so that Cain and his descendants were Troglodytes. But this is improbable for various reasons. First, it is opposed to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, for in all other places of the Old Testament עִיר unquestionably signifies a *city*. Then, a cave does not need to be *built*; it is either *found* prepared by nature, or has to be *dug*; but it is expressly said that Cain *built* חֲנוֹךְ Chanoch. Finally, to give a name to a city is usual, and almost necessary, but not so to a cave. *Faber* had been anticipated in his opinion by *Perizonius*,^a who, in his *Orig. Babylon*, cap.

^a The opinion is likewise defended by *Bellermann*, both in his *Bibl. Archaeology*, p. 162, and his *Bibl. Geography* (*Handbuch*, Vol. ii. p. 160.) If we could derive עִיר from the root עוּר *to be deep, to lie deep* (a sense obsolete in Hebrew, but existing in Arabic, as given by Gesenius under עוּר, No. III.) then the opinion of *Perizonius* would have considerable plausibility. It is from that root that the word מעוּרָה comes, which certainly means a *cave*, Gen. xix. 30. 1 Sam. xxiv. 4, 8; and various cognate Arabic terms convey the

iii. p. 35, understands by עיר not a town according to our ideas of it, but a secure habitation, *perpetuum in terra, quam colendam maxime elegerat, domicilium.*

same general idea of a *hollow* or *cavity*. Nay some think that עיר itself must have this signification in Ps. xxxi. 22, where David is speaking of God's kindness to him, not in a "strong city," but in the cave where he lived when persecuted by Saul. It is difficult to see how a city could be erected previous to the discovery of metallurgy and its kindred arts, which, however, were not invented till the days of Tubal-Cain, Gen. iv. 22. His paternal brother Jabal was the first to dwell in a tent (ver. 20), which, upon the supposition of cities already existing, would have been a retrograde movement in civilization and social refinement. All this tends to the conjecture, that Cain's erection was nothing more than the strengthening of a rocky fastness to protect himself from the dreaded vengeance of men, ver. 14. Even after the flood, we find Noah still in a *tent* (Gen. ix. 21), and he speaks of the *tents* of Shem, ver. 27. But caves were among the first habitations, and long continued to be peculiar to certain tribes. The Greeks called such persons Troglodytæ (from τρωγδλη a cave, and εἰσι to enter), and the Arabs style them "companions of the rock." The invention of tents by Jabal would be deemed an improvement upon so rude an abode; yet in particular situations (such as the ancient Petra, in Wady Mousa, recently described by Burckhardt and others) such dwellings were occupied for ages; and in many parts of the world they are not yet abandoned. Morier informs us (in his *Second Journey*, p. 396), that through a great part of Armenia and Georgia the houses answer in description to those mentioned by Xenophon as being there in his day. "The inhabitants make a considerable excavation, which, according to the nature of the ground, gives them one, two, or three sides of their house, and then build up the remainder with huge stones like Cyclopean walls; upon this they lay very thick rafters, and then cover the whole with earth in so solid a manner that it is difficult to say if you are walking upon a house

He adds that the first strongholds of this description were caves, referring to Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII. 56. *Specus erant pro domibus*; and to Ovid who, in his picture of the Silver Age, (*Metamorph.* I. 121,) says :

“ Tum primum subiere domus, domus antra fuerunt.”

2. As to the meaning of Chanoch, see *Michaelis* Suppl. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 840 [No. 783, 784]. *Beller-
man*, Handbuch der Bibl. Literat. Part ii. p. 161. *Butt-
mann*, Aelt. Erdk. p. 59. *Huet*, finding the land of Nod in Susiana, takes Chanoch for the town of Anuchta, mentioned by Ptolemy. He says (de Situ Parad. p.

top or upon the bare ground. They only leave one aperture at the top, which lights the room inhabited by the family.” The valley of Bameean, in Afghanistan, is likewise famous for its inhabited caves. They occur in all parts of the valley for about eight miles, and a detached hill in the middle of it is quite honey-combed by them. It is called the city of Ghoolghoola, and consists of a continual succession of caves in every direction, which are said to have been the work of a king named Julal. Similar caves are dug on both sides of the valley, but the greater number lie on the northern face. The excavations themselves have no pretensions to architectural ornament, being no more than squared holes cut in the hill. Some, however, are finished in the shape of a dome, and have a carved frieze below the point from which the cupola rises. The hills being formed of indurated clay and pebbles, their excavation cannot have been a matter of great difficulty; but the extent to which it has been carried excites astonishment. Taken together, these caves form an immense city; and they are still the residence of the greater part of the population. See *Burnes’ Travels*; and compare the accounts given by writers on Sicily, of the Vale of Ipsica in that island.—M.

62): Notum est syllabam *tha* nomen *Anuchta* terminantem, usitatam in lingua Chaldaica esse nominum femininorum terminationem, neque partem ipsius nominis facere. Superest igitur tantum *Anuch*, quae citra difficultatem id ipsum, quod *Enoch*, est. *Hasse*, who places the land of Nod in or near the Caucasus, recognizes in Chanoch the Heniochi, a Caucasian tribe mentioned by Strabo, II. p. 192; XI. 752 (Cassaubon's Edit.), and Pliny's Nat. Hist. VI. 10 and 12, [Comp. Ptol. V. 9. Pomponius Mela, I. 19. Pseudo Berosus, and after him Adrichomius, place Chanoch under the name of Hanochia, on the east side of Lebanon, opposite Damascus. *Bohlen*, (Exposit. of Genesis. Königsberg, 1835, p. 59), thinks of the town of Chanoge, in Sanscrit Kanyâkubya, in the north of India, called by the ancients Canogyza.]

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

A SYNOPTICAL VIEW

OF THE PRINCIPAL OPINIONS REGARDING THE SITE OF THE TERRESTRIAL PARADISE.

(BY THE TRANSLATOR.)

Hebrew Names.	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.
עֶדֶן Eden.	Armenia.	Korneh in Babilonia.	Country near the Caspian Sea.	Bactria.	Syria.	Country between the Ganges and Nile.	Bameean.	India.	Cashmere.
פִּישׁוֹן Pishon.	The Phasis.	Western mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.	The Araxes.	The Sihon, or Jaxartes.	The Chrysorrhoeas.	The Ganges.	The Nilab, or Lesser Sind.	The Irabatti.	The Phasis.
גִּיחוֹן Gihon.	The Araxes.	Eastern mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.	The Oxus, or Jihoon.	The Oxus, or Jihoon.	The Orontes.	The Nile.	The Hirmend.	The Ganges.	The Oxus.
חִדְקֵל Chiddekel.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	The Tigris.	River of Bah-lac.	The Indus.	The Tigris.
פְּרָת Phrath.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.	River of Cud-nuz.	The Euphrates.	The Euphrates.
חַוִּילָה Chavilah.	Colchis.	Arabia Felix.	Chwala on the West of the Caspian.	Chworasmia.	Chavilah in Arabia.	India.	Cabul.	Ava.	Colchis.
כּוּשׁ Cush.	Land of the Cossæi.	Chusistan, or Susiana.	Chowrasmia, on the E. of the Caspian.	Hindoo-coosh.	Cassiotis.	Nubia and Abyssinia.	Cusha.	The Extreme South.	Bactria.
אַשּׁוּר Asshur.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Assyria.	Hazarah.	Assyria.	Assyria?

NOTE EXPLANATORY OF THE PREFIXED TABLE.

THE question regarding the site of Paradise has naturally excited much curiosity ; yet must it be confessed that it has also led to many wild and useless speculations, which have hitherto terminated in no satisfactory result.

The fundamental error of most inquirers seems to be, that they consider the description as having necessarily a reference to certain countries, rivers, and other localities which still actually exist on the face of the globe. But the correctness of this supposition may justly be doubted. It does not in the least affect the authenticity or the divine origin of the early part of the book of Genesis, to believe that it embodies traditionary or written documents of a much earlier date than the age of Moses, and which were incorporated by him into his history, as being of equal authority with what came under his own observation, or was directly revealed to him by God. The apostle Jude (ver. 14,) seems to intimate that there was a series of inspired men from Adam downwards.^a If, then, we may suppose the whole account of Paradise to be an *inspired antediluvian document*, referring exclusively to a state of things which the deluge swept away,—the difficulty of reconciling the account with existing topography will immediately vanish. It is true that we find some of the names of countries and rivers there mentioned to have been afterwards applied to countries and rivers of the world after the flood ; but what was more natural than for Noah's posterity to give the same names to objects in the new world which had been given to similar objects by their antediluvian ancestry ? The identity of the *objects*, however, does by no means follow, from the mere identity of the names. In fact, almost every name of a river or country which occurs in the description of Paradise, was applied to more than one river or country in the postdiluvian world. Thus *Pishon* denotes a *stream* generally, and Gihon or Jihoon (from a word that

^a Among whom was Noah. 2 Pet. ii. 5.

signifies *to break forth*,) was also etymologically the designation of a river; and though now used pre-eminently of the Oxus, is also a prefix to oriental names of the Araxes, the Ganges, &c.; it was likewise the name of a rivulet or water-course at Jerusalem, 1 Kings i. 38. 2 Chron. xxxii. 30; xxxiii. 14. In the Hiddekel some find the root both of the Indus (Hid Hind) and the Dijlat or Tigris. There were two Havilahs, one inhabited by a Shemite tribe, Gen. x. 29, the other by a Hamite, Gen. x. 7. The various significations of *Cush* form one of the chief perplexities in Bible geography; and we find the name of Eden itself given to more than one district in the east.

In the above Synoptical Table, I have presented a view of the leading opinions of those who endeavour to connect the description of Paradise with existing localities. Every one of the schemes is open to the objection, that nowhere do four great rivers, corresponding to those of the narrative, issue from one common source. Gen. ii. 10.

I. The opinion which fixes Eden in *Armenia*, I have placed first, because it is that which has obtained most general support, and seems nearest the truth. For if we may suppose, that while Cain moved to the east (Gen. iv. 16,) the posterity of Seth remained in the neighbourhood of the primæval seat of mankind, and that Noah's ark rested not very far from the place of his former abode, then Mount Ararat in Armenia becomes a connecting point between the antediluvian and postdiluvian worlds, (Gen. viii. 4,) and the names of the Frat, Hiddekel, &c. would readily be given to rivers, which, after the great deluge, seemed to flow in channels somewhat corresponding to those of the paradisaical streams. The opinion in question was first systematically propounded by a Dutch divine, Reland, (born 1676, died 1718) in his Dissertt. Miscell. i. 1, (to be found also in Ugolini Thesaur. Vol. vii.) and is held by Calmet and many others. The *Cossæi*, whom he finds in Cush, are mentioned by Strabo, XI. 522, XVI. 744. Diod. Sic. XVII. 111. They lived near Media, in the tract now called Dilem, southwest of the Caspian Sea. Link (in his Urwelt, I. 307) takes the Gihon for the Kur or Cyrus, and Cush for the Caucasus.

Verbrugge in his *Orat. de Situ Paradis.* coincides with *Reland*, only that he takes the *Gihon* to be the *Gyndes*, which flowed between *Armenia* and *Matiana*. See *Herodot.* I. 189.^a

II. This opinion will be found most elaborately defended by *Huet*, the famous Bishop of *Avranches*, in the *Dissert. de Situ Parad. Terrest.* contained in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*; but it is also maintained by *Calvin*, *Bochart*, *Wells*, *Steph. Morinus*, *Vorst*, &c. *Hales* was of this sentiment in the first edition of his *Chronology*, but in the second he follows the opinion of *Reland*. The *Shat-al-Arab* is the name of the united stream of the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. *Cush* they compare with the *Cuthah* of 2 Kings xvii. 24; and *Chavilah* with the *Χαυλαταῖσι* of *Eratosthenes* in *Strabo*, XVI. 767. *Grotius* (on *Gen.* ii.) thinks the *Pishon* is the *Pasitigris* and the *Gihon*, the *Nahar-Malca* or the *Chaboras*. *Hottinger* (*Enneas Dissert.* p. 64) agrees with *Grotius* as to the *Pishon*, but takes the *Gihon* for the *Nahar Sura*. *Hopkinson*, in his *Descriptio Paradisi* (*Ugolin. Thes.* Vol. vii.) makes the *Pishon* and *Gihon* to be the two canals of the *Euphrates*, the *Nahar-Malca*, and the *Moar Sares*.

III. The celebrated *Göttingen* professor, *J. D. Michaelis*, originated this hypothesis in his *Spicileg. Geogr.* and his *Supp. ad Lex. Hebb.*, though he is doubtful as to some of the points. *Gatterer* (in *Comment. in Acta Goett.*) in the main agrees with him, only he understands the *Hiddekel* to be the *Indus*, and takes the *Pishon* for the *Phasis*. *Cush* is found by *Michaelis* in the name of the city of *Cath* or *Caths*, the ancient capital of *Chowrasmia*, on the *Oxus* or *Jihoon*, near the site of *Balkh*. (See *Burnes' Travels*.) He refers to *Quint. Curtius* (VII. 5, 1,) as speaking of the *Cusæi* or *Cusitani* being in *Bactria* upon the *Oxus*. *Wahl*, in his work on *Asia*, (p. 529,) sees *Cush* in the *Khousti* of *Moses* of *Chorene*, (*Hist. Armen.* p. 363,) meaning the large province between the *Caspian* and *Persian Seas*, as far as the *Indus* and *Oxus*.

^a This is also the opinion of *Faber*, in his *Origin of Pagan Idoltry*, I. p. 303. He takes the *Pishon* for the *Absarus* of *Pliny*, the modern *Batoun*.

The land of Chavilah, Michaelis connects with the tribe of Chwaliski or Chwalisses, from whom the Russians call the Caspian Sea the Chwalinskoie More.

IV. This theory has been proposed by the eminent orientalist *Von Hammer*, in the periodical called the *Wiener Jahrbuch d. Liter.* (Vienna Annual Register of Literat.) for 1820, p. 21. The Sihon, says he, rises near the town of *Cha*, and compasses the land of *Ilah*, famous for the gold and precious stones of Turkistan. Comp. *Jahn* in *Bertholdt's Journal*, ix. 327.

V. That Paradise was in *Syria*, was the opinion of the voluminous *Le Clerc*, in his *Comment. on Genesis*. Chavilah is the tract mentioned, 1 Sam. xv. 7. Cush is Cassiotis or Mons Casius near Seleucia in Syria. Strabo, XVI. 750, 755. Ammian. Marcell. xiv. 8. This opinion is shared by Lake-macher (*Observ. Philol. V. p. 195*), who, however, takes the Pishon to be the Jordan. Heidegger (in *Exercitt. in Hist. Patriarch. IV. 42*), thinks the Jordan was the great river of Paradise, an idea adopted by the paradoxical Hardouin, in his *Excursus to Pliny's Nat. Hist. Lib. VI*. Others who place Eden in Arabia Felix, transform the Pishon into the Persian Gulf, and the Gihon into the Red Sea.

VI. This is perhaps the most ancient opinion of any, being found in Josephus (*Antiq. I. 1, 3*), and in several of the Fathers, e. g. Theophilus Autol. II. 24. Epiphan. (*Epp. II. 60*). Philostorgus in Nicephor. *Hist. Eccl. IX. 19*; though the latter takes the Pishon for the Indian river Hypasis. Plin. II. 75. The Greeks also speak of a supposed connection between the Nile and eastern rivers. Arrian, *Alex. VI. 1, 3*. Pausan. *Corinth. II. 5*. Comp. Gesenius *Thesaur. I. 282*. The idea of the Gihon being the Nile, probably originated with the Jews of Alexandria, Cush being naturally taken for African Æthiopia. Comp. *Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 37*.

VII. Captain Wilford, well known for his profound acquaintance with Hindoo antiquities, advanced the present view, as being founded upon the Indian Puranas. See the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, p. 455, of the London edition. It was partly adopted by a late ingenious but fanciful writer, Mr.

Charles Taylor, editor of Calmet's Dictionary—who, however, makes the Pishon the Nilab; the Gihon, the western branch of the Oxus; the Hiddekel, the eastern, and the Frat, the Hirmend. See his Fragments to Calmet, No. 505, 506, &c.

VIII. This and the following are given as specimens of the views of the modern German school of Neology, which regards the whole narrative as a *mythos*, similar to the Greek tradition of the Hesperides, the Islands of the Blest, &c. Philip Buttmann is the author of the hypothesis under the present number in his work, entitled, *Aelteste Erdkunde d. Morgenlandes*. Berlin 1803. The Pishon he compares with the Besynga (*Βήσυγγα*) which is mentioned by Ptolemy (VII. 2), as the most considerable river of India, east of the Ganges. Ava was early known as a region of gold; and an anonymous geographer, in Hudson's Collection, Vol. iii., speaks of the Eyiltæ or Evilei, as being near the Seres or Chinese.

IX. Another neological theory—the author, A. T. Hartmann (in his *Aufklärung, uber Asien*. i. 249), who looks upon the description as a product of the Babylonish or Persian period. The idéa of Eden being the far-famed vale of Cashmere, had been anticipated by Herder, in his work on the History of Mankind. The most recent accounts of Cashmere will be found in the Travels of Burnes and Jacquemont.

These, indeed, are but a few of the opinions that have been propounded; yet though many more might be added, it is to be observed, that most of them have much in common, and differ only in some of the details. To enumerate the vagaries of our German neighbours on this subject would be endless. When Rudbeck, a Swede, placed Eden in Scandinavia, and the Siberians told the Czar Peter that it was in Siberia, these became topics of constant ridicule among German scholars; and yet one of their own number proposed a no less extravagant hypothesis, which was made matter of serious discussion, and has been honoured with more than one elaborate refutation. This was *Hasse*, in his “*Entdeckungen*,” &c., *i. e.* Discoveries in the oldest History of the Earth and of Mankind. Halle, 1801. His great discovery is, that the site of Paradise was in

Prussia, on the shores of the Baltic ! the *bdolach* or bdellium being the amber which there abounds. He believes that the Caspian and Euxine were once united, and flowed into the Baltic by one great river, the Eridanus. Havilah he compares with the Ῥλαία of Herodotus (IV. 9, 20, 76), in the extreme north, near the Arimaspias (the river with golden sands), and the golden country which was guarded by the griffins. And this name Ῥλαία he connects with ἱαλος, glass or amber a substance which he likewise finds etymologically described in the *shocham* (onyx-stone.) He maintains that the temperature of the north has been lowered by some great physical revolution, for that originally it was the region of warmth ; the trees yielded amber as resin, and bore fruits so beneficial to health, that they might well be called *trees of life*. All this absurdity is based upon the fanciful traditions of the Greeks regarding Hyperboræa, on the northern ocean, being the birth place of gods and men, and the abode of longevity and peace. But the reason for this belief, as well as for the Hebrews and other nations connecting the appearances of deity with the north, will be found in the present work, Chap. i.

2. The theory of Hasse has been confuted with an unnecessary waste of erudition by Hartmann, in his *Aufklärungen über Asien*, Book i. p. 3.

One of the most elaborate inquirers is a Swiss writer *Schulthess*, in a work entitled *Das Paradies, &c., i. e. Paradise the terrestrial and super-terrestrial, historical, mythical, and mystical*. Zurich, 1816. He takes the Pishon for the Indus, and the Gihon for the Astaboras or Jaccazè, a large river of Abyssinia, which falls into the Nile. He illustrates at length the ancient notion of a Paradise out of the earth and beyond the ocean. It was very prevalent in the middle age. *Cosmas Indicopleustes* says : “ The earth, which we inhabit, is surrounded by the ocean ; but beyond the ocean is found another earth ; there was the first man formed, there was Paradise, and there the flood came down upon Noah.” *Collectio Nova Patr.* Vol. ii. p. 161. The conjecture of another writer of that age has at least the merit of originality. *Ephrem* the Syrian says, in speaking of the rivers of Paradise : “ *Quamvis loca, unde fluvii*

erumpunt nota sint, alius tamen fons est unde primum scaturiunt. Paradisus enim procul in editissimo loco positus est. Inde ergo delapsi circa ipsum paradisum cuniculis recepti se condunt continuoque cursu velut e sublimi scatebra mare subeuntes perque ejus fundum transvecti distinctis fontibus tandem prosiliunt." He takes the Danube to be the Pishon, and the Nile to be the Gihon. Comp. Theodoret. Quest. in Genes. xxix.

Frege, in his Geogr. Handbuch, places Eden in the tract which is now occupied by the Caspian Sea, supposing it to have been submerged like the valley of Sodom. *Sickler* (in Augusti's Theol. Monatshrift, i. p. 75,) thinks that by the נהר or great river was intended the Caspian Sea, and by the ראשים or heads, the Euxine and other seas. *Raumer*, in the periodical called Hertha for 1829 (p. 340,) imagines that the Caspian and Euxine were formerly united, and that by means of the Irtisch, the Petschora, the Dwina, and the Volga, an island was formed, in which lay Paradise. *Autenrieth* again places it in the Islands of the South Sea. Hypotheses no less absurd have been proposed by *Kannegiesser*, in his Grun-driss. der Alterthumswissenschaft, Halle, 1815; by *Latreille* in Memoires sur divers sujets de l'Hist. Natur. des Insectes, Paris 1819, and by many others.

The more ancient opinions will be found discussed in Steph. *Morini* Dissert. de Parad. Terrest. (in the Leyden Edit. of Bochart's Works, Tom. ii.) *Crausii* Dissert. de Potamographia Paradisaica, Jena. 1667. *Teuberi* Dissert. de Paradis. Francof. ad Oder. 1696. *Marckii* Hist. Parad. Illustrata. Amster. 1705. The seventh vol. of Ugolini's Thesaurus Antiqq. contains several of these, along with other treatises on the subject. Modern opinions will be found detailed in *Eichhorn's* Urgeschichte; *Bellermann's* Handbuch d. Bibl. Literatur. i. 46; ii. 148. *Faber's* Archæology, p. 12. *Winer's* Bibl. Realwörterbuch, article Eden, and in the above mentioned work of *Schulthess*.

CHAPTER III.

THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF NATIONS.

THE tenth chapter of the book of Genesis contains, in the form of a genealogical roll of the descendants of Noah, a scheme of the pedigree of nations in the three divisions of the then known world. For that the names of individuals in that table are intended to represent *nations* is evident, not only from many of them being in the plural number,¹ but from the termination of others being, according to the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, descriptive of tribes ;² nay, some of them are never found to occur but as names of countries, such as Aram (Syria,) Havilah, Ophir. Just as Israel and Judah were names both of single persons and of whole nations, so it is with the names that occur in the genealogy in question.³

This table of nations is of high importance and value, as being the most ancient ethnographic document which we possess.⁴ It cannot, as an acute expositor⁵ has observed, have been derived from tradition alone, but must have been the fruit of study and research.

The three sons of Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, are exhibited in this genealogical chart as the representatives of the three divisions of the earth, Asia, Africa, and Europe—although not precisely according to the boundaries of modern times. The descendants of Japhet peopled Europe and the north-west of Asia; those of Ham the southern part of the earth, especially Africa; and the Shemites, the countries of central Asia, particularly those around the Euphrates.⁶ This tradition of the division of the earth among Noah's three sons likewise obtains among the Arabs and Persians.⁷

The genealogical table here follows, along with the most probable explanations which have been offered, and which are the result of the researches of Bochart, J. D. Michaelis, and others.⁸

JAPHETITES.

I. GOMER: the Cimmerians on the north coast of the Black Sea. Their descendants were,

1. *Ashkenaz*: an unknown people, perhaps between Armenia and the Black Sea.
2. *Riphat*: the inhabitants of the Riphæan Mountains.
3. *Thogarmah*: Armenia.

II. MAGOG: the inhabitants of the Caucasus and adjacent countries—Scythians.

III. MADAI : the Medes.

IV. JAVAN : the Ionians or Greeks. Their descendants were,

1. *Elishah* : the Hellenes, strictly so called.
2. *Tharshish* : Tartessus, in the south of Spain.
3. *Kittim* : the inhabitants of Cyprus, and other Greek islands, with the Macedonians.
4. *Dodanim* : the Dodonæi, in Epirus.

V. TUBAL : the Tibareni, in Pontus.

VI. MESHECH : the Moschi, in the Moschian Mountains, between Iberia, Armenia, and Colchis.

VII. TIRAS : the Thracians, or perhaps the dwellers on the river Tiras, the Dniester.

HAMITES.

I. CUSH : the Æthiopians and Southern Arabians. Their descendants were,

1. *Nimrod*, the first king of Sinear (Shinar,) *i. e.* Babylon and Mesopotamia, where he founded the towns of *Babel*, *Erech*, *i. e.* Aracca, (on the borders of Babylon and Susiana,) *Calneh*, *i. e.* Ctesiphon, and *Accad*.
2. *Seba* : Meröe.
3. *Havilah* : the Chaulotæi, in Southern Arabia.
4. *Sabtha* : Sabota, in Southern Arabia.
5. *Ragma* : Rhegma, in the south-east of Arabia,

on the Persian Gulf. Descendants or Colonies were:

a. Sheba, probably a tribe in South Arabia.

b. Dedan: Daden, an island in the Persian Gulf.

6. *Sabthecha*, the inhabitants of the east coast of Æthiopia.

II. MIZRAIM: the Egyptians. Their descendants were,

1. *Ludim*, } probably African tribes.
2. *Ananim* }

3. *Lehabim* or *Lubim*: the Libyans.

4. *Naphtuchim*: the inhabitants of the province of Nephtys, on the Lake of Sirbo, on the borders of Egypt and Asia.

5. *Patrusim*: the inhabitants of the Egyptian canton of Pathures, (Pathros.)

6. *Casluchim*: the Colchians. Their descendants or colonies were,

a. Philistim, the Philistines.

b. Caphtorim, the Cretans.

III. PHUT: the Mauritanians.

IV. CANAAN: the inhabitants of the country between the Mediterranean Sea and the Jordan, from Sidon to the south end of the Dead Sea. Their descendants were,

1. The *Sidonians*, on the northern borders of Canaan or Phœnicia.

2. The *Hittites* (Chetites,) in the country of Hebron, south of Jerusalem.
3. The *Jebusites*, in and around Jerusalem.
4. The *Amorites* (Emorites,) on the east and west side of the Dead Sea.
5. The *Girgashites*.
6. The *Hivites* (Chevites,) on the river Hermon and in the valleys of Lebanon.
7. The *Arkites*, at the foot of Lebanon.
8. The *Sinites*, in the country of Lebanon.
9. The *Arvadites*, on the Phœnician island of Aradus and the opposite coast.
10. The *Zemarites*, the inhabitants of the Phœnician town of Simyra.
11. The *Hamathites*, the inhabitants of the Syrian town of Epiphania on the Orontes.

SHEMITES.

- I. ELAM: the inhabitants of the province of Elymais in Persia.
- II. ASSHUR: the Assyrians, by whom the towns of Nineveh, Rechoboth, Chalach, and Resen, were founded.
- III. ARPHAXAD: the inhabitants of the northern part of Assyria, (Arrapachitis.) A descendant was

Shelach, from whom

Eber, Progenitor of the Hebrews, and from him
a. *Peleg*,⁹ and

b. Joktan, called by the Arabians *Kachtan*, ancestor of the following Arab tribes :

α. Almodad.

β. Shaleph, the Selapenes in Nedj or Telhama in Southern Arabia.

γ. Hazarmaveth, the inhabitants of the Arabian province of Hhadramaut.

δ. Jerach, the Inhabitants of the mountain of the Moon, (Jebel or Gobb el-Kamar,) near Hhadramaut.

ε. Hadoram ; unknown.

ζ. Usal ; the inhabitants of the country of Sanaa in Southern Arabia.

η. Dikla.

θ. Obal.

ι. Abimael.

κ. Sheba, the Sabians in Southern Arabia.

λ. Ophir, the inhabitants of El-Ophir, in the Arabian province of Oman.

μ. Havilah, the inhabitants of the province of Chaulan, in Southern Arabia.

ν. Jobab, the Jobabites, on the Gulf of Salachitis, between Hhadramaut and Oman.

IV. LUD : probably a people of Æthiopia.

V. ARAM : the inhabitants of Syria and Mesopotamia. Their descendants :

1. *Uz*, the inhabitants of a district in the north of Arabia Deserta.

2. *Chul*, perhaps the inhabitants of Cælo-Syria.

3. *Gether* ; unknown.

4. *Mash*, the inhabitants of a part of the Gordiæan Mountains, (Mons Masius,) north of Nesibis.

1. See verses 13, 14, נפתוחים, ענמים, לודים.^a
2. See verses 16, 17, 18, הגרגשי, האמרי, היבוסי.
3. Similar to this is the Greek Genealogy of Nations :

Deucalion.

Hellen.

Æolus.

Dorus.

Xuthus.

Ion.

Achæus.

There, likewise, it will be seen, the names of single individuals occur along with the names of persons who were the progenitors or founders of, or at least gave names to entire nations." Vater's Commentary on the Pentateuch, Vol. i. p. 93. A similar genealogy is found in *Apollodorus*, Biblioth. II. 1, 4. "Epaphus, who ruled over Egypt, married Memphis, the daughter of the Nile, and named after her the town of Memphis, which was built by him. He had by her a daughter Libya, after whom the country of Libya was called. Agenor and Belus were twin-sons of Libya and Poseidon, &c."

4. Admitting Moses to have been the writer of

^a The student, however, will bear in mind, that in Hebrew, a plural termination does not necessarily imply a plurality of objects. The first canon of Glassius "de Nomine Proprio," (Philol. Sacra, by Dathe, p. 674) is "*Nomina in se pluralia vel dualia, ex speciali impositione sæpe fiunt singularia et propria.*" He excepts, however, the names in Gen. x. as being manifestly names of nations.—M.

the book of Genesis, (as is established by well-known internal and external evidences,) still there is no improbability in supposing that, in drawing up this genealogical table, he may have had access to the archives kept by the priests among the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and other surrounding nations. He was, we are informed, “learned in all the learning of the Egyptians;” and that this included historical and ethnographic knowledge, appears from the fragmentary remains of Manetho, Sanchoniathon, and Berosus, and the testimony of Herodotus.

5. *Vater* on the Pentateuch, Vol. I. p. 91.

6. *Doederlein* (in the Theol. Journal, p. 387,) has correctly observed: This document clearly marks the boundary lines between the three great primitive nations, of whom the first peopled the north of Asia, the second, the African continent, and the third, the intervening regions.” To the same purpose *Herder*, (Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Man, Part II. p. 342 :) “The three principal races (of those saved from the flood,) are evidently the people on both sides of the western Asiatic mountains, including the upper (northern) coasts of Africa, and the tribes of the east of Europe, in so far as they were known to the collector of the traditions. Japhet, according to his name and his blessing, (Gen. ix. 27.) was a *wide-spreader*, as the people to the north of the mountains did really become, in consequence of their nomadic mode of life. From Shem sprang the nations which the longest retained the primitive religion, and made the first advances in civilization and refinement. The name of Ham denoted *heat*, and his descendants

occupied the warmest regions of the earth towards the Torrid Zone."

7. *D'Herbelot* quotes these traditions in his *Bibl. Orient.* under the article, *Nuh* (Noah,) as does also *De Guignes*, in his *History of the Huns and Turks*, (Vol. I. p. 111 of the Ger. Transl.) from *Abulgasi Bahadur-Khan's*, (Sultan of *Kharezm*) *Genealogical History of the Tartars*, and the *Histories of Mirkhond and Beidhavi*. Noah, it is said, after he came out of the ark, divided the earth among his three sons. Ham received India; Shem, Iran, *i. e.* the lands to the south of the river Oxus, between the Indian and Persian seas. Japhet obtained the lands of Kuttup-Shamach, which name designates the far-extended regions north and north-east of the Caspian Sea, between the rivers Etel (Wolga) and Jaik. See the Appendix to this chapter.

8. Samuel. *Bocharti Geographia Sacra, cujus Pars prior, Phaleg, de dispersione gentium et terrarum divisione facta in ædificatione turris Babel; Pars posterior, Chanaan, de coloniis et sermone Phœnicum agit.* Caen, 1646 and 1651, fol. Franckfort on the Main, 1674, 4to, and in Vol. I. of the edition of *Bochart's Works*, which appeared at Leyden, in 1712, in 2 vols. fol. Jo. Dav. Michaelis *Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ post Bochartum, Pars prima*, Götting. 1769, P. sec. 1780, 4to. Jo. Reinoldi Forsteri *Epistolæ ad Jo. Dav. Michaelis, hujus Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum exteræ jam confirmantes jam castigantes*, Götting. 1772, 4to. The work of Schulthess on *Paradise* (Zürich, 1816) likewise contains researches on this head.

9. Peleg פֶּלֶג *i. c. division*; so called, because, in his days, “*the earth was divided*,” Gen. x. 25. The idea was, that each nation received its allotted portion of territory from God. Comp. Deut. xxxii. 8.^a

^a The following is the passage referred to :

בהנחל עליון גוים
בהפרידו בני אדם
יצב גבלת עמים
למספר בני ישראל :
כי חלק יהוה עמו
יעקב חבל נחלתו :

Deut. xxxii. 8, 9.

When the Most High assigned an inheritance to the nations—

When he divided the sons of Adam ;
He fixed the bounds of the peoples,
According to the number of the sons of Israel.
For the portion of Jehovah *is* his people—
Jacob the lot (*lit.* cord) of his inheritance.

Compare with this the language of St. Paul, in his address to the Athenians, Acts xvii. 26, 27. The word *peoples* seems to have a special reference to the Canaanitish tribes. The fourth line is by the LXX. rendered *κατα ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ*, *according to the number of the angels of God*; they probably supposing an allusion to the opinion, that every country was under the tutelary protection of its own guardian angel.—M.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

ON THE ORIGIN OF CERTAIN NATIONS.

The following is an extract from the History of the World, translated from the Khelassut ul Akhbar of Khondemeer, in the Calcutta Asiatic Miscellany, 4to. p. 148.

“Shem was appointed Noah’s successor by his will; and he is reckoned among the number of those prophets to whom the written law was revealed. According to tradition, God bestowed on him nine sons; namely Arphaxad, who is the father of the prophets; Kiumers, the father of kings; Aswed, who, according to the Tarikh Benagutty, built the cities of Nineveh, Rabah, Aklah, and Medain; Turekh, of whom historians have recorded nothing but his name; Lawed, among whose descendants are the Pharaohs of Egypt; Elam, who is said to have founded Khuristan; Irem, among whose descendants were Shidad and the tribe of Aad; Cured, who, according to the Tarikh Gozideh, had four sons, Azerbaijan, Arran, Armen, and Mughan. In the Rozit ul Suffah, it is written, that God bestowed on Ham nine sons: Hind, Sind, Zenj, Nuba, Kanaan, Kush, Kopt, Berber, and Habesh; and their children having increased to an immense multitude, God caused each tribe to speak a different language.”

As to *Japhet*, D’Herbelot mentions (Bibl. Orient. p. 470,) that the Arabs assign to him eleven sons, who were the founders of as many Asiatic nations, viz: Gin or Dschin (the Chinese,) Seklab, (Sclavonians,) Manschuge, (Tartars?) Gomari, Turk, (Turks,) Khalage, Khozar, Ros, (Russians),

Sussan, Gaz, Torage. Hence he is commonly called “ the Father of Turks and Barbarians.” See Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* p. 37. Some compare Japhet with *Ἰάπετος*, the Japhetus of Greek mythology, the son of Cœlus by Terra, and who married Asia, and was considered the father of mankind. See Hesiod’s *Theogonis.* V. 136, 508. Apollod. i. 1. Ovid’s *Metam.* IV. v. 631.

The reader may compare with this the interesting discourse of Sir William Jones on the Origin and Families of Nations in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. iii. p. 418, Lond. Edit. “ Three sons of the just and virtuous man (Noah,) whose lineage was preserved from the general inundation, travelled, we are told, as they began to multiply, in three large divisions, variously subdivided: the children of Yafet seem, from the traces of Sclavonian names, and the mention of their being *enlarged*, to have spread themselves far and wide, and to have produced the race which, for want of a correct appellation, we call *Tartarian*. The colonies formed by the sons of Ham and Shem, appear to have been nearly simultaneous; and among those of the latter branch, we find so many names incontestably preserved at this hour in Arabia, that we cannot hesitate in pronouncing them the same people; while the former branch, the most powerful and adventurous of whom were the progeny of Cush, Misr, and Rama (names remaining unchanged in Sanscrit, and highly revered by the *Hindûs*) were in all probability the race which I call Indian.”.....Thus we see the truth of these accounts in Genesis “ confirmed by antecedent reasoning, and by evidence in part highly probable and in part certain.”

While there can be no doubt of the fact, that a tradition, respecting the division of the earth among the three sons of Noah, has extensively prevailed throughout the east, it is right to put the reader on his guard against a document on that subject, which, upon its first publication, excited great interest, but has since been found to be spurious. We allude to a pretended translation from one of the mythological works of the *Hindûs*; which first appeared in a note annexed by Sir William Jones to an *Essay on Egypt and the Nile* by Captain

Wilford. It will be found in the third volume of the Asiatic Researches, and relates to Noah (under the designation of Satyavrata) and his three sons. " Captain Wilford has since had the mortification and regret to discover, that he was imposed upon by a learned Hindû who assisted his investigation ; that the Purana, in which he actually and carefully read the passage which he communicated to Sir William Jones as an extract from it, does not contain it, and that it was interpolated by the dextrous introduction of a forged sheet, discoloured and prepared for the purpose of deception, and which, having served this purpose, was afterwards withdrawn."

The following is the remarkable *prophecy of Noah*, to which reference has been made. Gen. ix. 25—27.

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲרֻר כְּנָעַן
 עֶבֶד עַבְדִּים יִהְיֶה לְאָחִיו :
 וַיֹּאמֶר בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי שָׁם
 יִיחִי כְנָעַן עֶבֶד לָמוֹ :
 יִפֹּת אֱלֹהִים לִיִּפֹת וַיִּשְׁכֵּן בְּאֶהֱלֵי-שָׁם
 יִיחִי כְנָעַן עֶבֶד לָמוֹ :

And he said : Cursed *be* Canaan !
 Servant of servants shall he be to his brethren ;
 And he said : Blessed^a *be* Jehovah, God of Shem !
 And Canaan shall be their servant.
 God shall enlarge Japhet,^b and dwell^c in tents of
 Shem :
 And Canaan shall be their servant.

For historical illustrations of the fulfilment of this prediction, the reader may consult *Bochart's Phaleg*, *Mede*, Bishop *Newton* and others upon Prophecy, and *Horsley's Sermons*.

^a Kennicott proposes to translate: *Blessed of Jehovah, my God, be Shem !*

^b The Hebrew student will mark the *paronomasia* in *יִפֹּת, יִפֹּת*.

^c Or, *he shall dwell*, i. e. Japhet.

Yet it cannot be denied that the passage labours under considerable obscurity, and that valid doubts may be raised as to whether the curse was limited to Canaan's posterity, or extended to the whole race of Ham, and whether it be Japhet or Elohim that must be understood as the nominative to יִשְׁכֵּן in the fifth line. If the Canaanites alone were the subjects of the malediction, then no inference can be drawn respecting the subjection and slavery alleged to be here entailed upon all the Hamite tribes. And if (according to the version of the Chald. and Arab. Dathe, Newton, &c.) it was *not* Japhet but Elohim (God) who was to dwell in tents of Shem, while a new and beautiful train of thought is opened up by that translation, yet the frequent colonization of Asia by Europeans (however true in point of fact) will have no connection whatever with this part of the prophecy, though it may be brought in as having contributed to the *enlargement of Japhet*.

Michaelis, in his work on the Exterior Geography of the Hebrews, rejects the idea that the genealogical table in the 10th chapter of Genesis is to be understood as containing the origin of *all* the nations of the earth. He limits it to those nations which could be known to the Hebrews, through the medium of Arabia, Egypt, and Phœnicia. But such a supposition seems contradicted by the express language of verse 32. See Eichhorn's *Life of Michaelis*, in the *Student's Cabinet Library of Useful Tracts*, No. VIII. p. 15.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REGION OF THE NORTH.

SECT. I.—RIPHAT.

THAT the name Riphath or Riphath¹ designated a country and people to the north of the Hebrews, is evident from the circumstance, that it occurs in Gen. x. 3, in the genealogy of Japheth's posterity, and is mentioned along with tribes which unquestionably belonged to the north. The word suggests, "the Riphæans," and "the Riphæan Mountains," by which the ancients intended the most remote mountain-range, in what was to them the distant north, extending from the west of Europe to that part of Asia which lay on the east of the Black Sea.² But it is impossible to fix with precision upon any one chain of hills or tribe of people, with which the *Riphath* of scripture³ may certainly be identified.

1. ריפח, Gen. x. 3. In the parallel passage, 1 Chron. i. 6, it is written in most MSS. and Editions דיפח Diphath—evidently in consequence of the interchange (which is so frequent,) of the similar cha-

racters ר *resh* and ד *daleth*. But the oldest critical witnesses, the Seventy, have 'Ριφὰθ in both places; and in Gen. x. 3, ריפת (or ריפד) also occurs in some Samaritan MSS. and in all the Hebrew ones with one exception. This is the MS. No. 766 of *De Rossi*, written at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and which, according to him, (Prolegom. p. cxxiii.) *plures habet bonæ notæ varr. lectt. sed plura quoque menda*—among which errors must be reckoned this reading of ריפת in Gen. x. 3. See the Appendix.

2. *Pomponius Mela*, de Situ Orbis, I. 19: Hinc, (*i. e.* from the river Phasis in Causasus) orti montes longo se jugo et donec *Rhipaeis conjungantur*, exporrigunt, qui altera parte in Euxinum et Maeotida et Tanain, altera in Caspium pelagus obversi, Ceraunii dicuntur, iidem alicubi Taurici, Moschi, Amazonici, Caspii, Coraxici, Caucasii, ut aliis aliisque dicti nominibus. And farther down, at the end of the first Book: Ultra surgit mons Rhiphaeus ultraque eum jacet ora, quae spectat Oceanum. Stephen of Byzantium speaks of 'Ριπαία ὄρος Ὑπερβοραίων. Pliny in his Hist. Nat., IV. 12, says: Mox Rhiphaei montes, et assiduo nivis casu pinnarum similitudine, Pterophoros appellata regio: pars mundi damnata a rerum natura, et densa mersa caligine, neque in alio, quam rigoris opere, gelidisque Aquilonis conceptaculis. Pone eos montes, ultraque Aquilonem gens felix, si credimus, quos Hyperboreos adpellavere, annoso degit aevo. Virgil, Georg. I. 240.

Mundus ut ad Scythiam Rhipaeasque arduus arces
Consurgit.^a

^a See the present work, p. 11.—M.

And III. 381.

Talis Hyperboreo Septem subjecta trioni
 Gens effrena virûm Rhipaeo tunditur Euro,
 Et pecudum fulvis velatur corpore saetis.

Upon which Voss remarks, that the idea which the ancients had of the Rhipæan chain was formed from the reports about the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Hercinian forest, &c., and that as it was supposed to run into Asia beyond the Sea of Pontus, there would be to the northern Scythians a Rhipæan Eurus or east wind. Strabo (VII. 3. 1,) regards the accounts of the Rhipæan Mountains, and the Hyperboreans as fables, originating in ignorance respecting the countries of the north : *Διὰ τὴν ἄγνοίαν τῶν τόπων τούτων, οἱ τὰ 'Ριπαῖα ὄρη, καὶ τοῦς 'Υπερβορείους μυθοποιοῦντες, λόγου ἡζῶνται.*

3. *Bochart* (Phaleg. III. 10,^a) after *Josephus* (Ant. I. 6, 1,) takes *Riphat* or *Diphat* for *Paphlagonia*. He finds a trace of the former name in *Rhebæus*, a river of *Bithynia*, mentioned by *Apollonius* (Argonaut. II. 791,) and *Orpheus* (Argon. 711,) and which falls into the Black Sea, not far from *Paphlagonia*; while he thinks the name *Diphat* is preserved in *Tobata*, a town of *Paphlagonia* mentioned by *Ptolemy*. According to *Hasse* (Entdeck. Vol. i. p. 24,) *Riphat* denotes the *Carpathian Mountains* between *Poland* and *Hungary*. Comparing *Karpath* with *Ripath* or *Rhipath*, he thinks the prefixed *k* in the former is in room of the *spiritus asper* which ac-

^a Also de Phœnic. Colonis, I. 10, Comp. Michaelis Spicel. I. p. 65.—M.

companies the initial *r* in Hebrew and Greek ; and as the Latin *corvus* was according to him from the German *rabe*, and *cornu* from *horn*, so was Karpath formed from Riphath. He adds, that in the middle ages the Carpathian Mountains were called by the Byzantines *Harvat*, *Hervat*, and their inhabitants *Chrowats* (Croatians.) But *Hartmann* has brought forward well-founded objections to this hypothesis in his *Aufklärungen über Asien*, Part i. p. 165. *Schult-hess* (in his work on *Paradise*, p. 179,) thinks that the Riphath of scripture corresponds to the Rhibii, at the east end of the Caspian Sea, on the western bank of the river Polytimetes, “ probably the river of Sogd, which fertilizes Samarcand and Bokhara.”

SECT. II.—GOMER.

In Gomer, (גֹּמֶר, Gen. x. 2,) several antiquaries¹ have recognised the *Cimmerians*, a barbarous people of the north, mentioned in Homer’s *Odyssey*,² and supposed to dwell on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in the Chersonesus *Taurica*, (the modern Crimea,) and in the tract to the east of that country. According to later historians and geographers,³ the Cimmerians inhabited the lands between the Don and the Aluta, on the Black Sea, and along the Danube. About the year 590 B. C., being pressed upon by the Scythians, they advanced under the command of Lydgamis through the pass of Caucasus to Sinope, and made destruc-

tive inroads into Lydia, the king of which, Alyattes, expelled them from Asia Minor about the year B. C. 533. They probably then moved through Pontus and Little Armenia towards the Caucasus.⁴ That the people whom the Hebrews called Gomer are to be sought for in that region, appears from a passage in the prophecies of Ezekiel. For among the tribes that Gog, a mighty captain of the north, was to lead forth against the land of Israel, there is *Gomer*, with all his hosts, (Ezek. xxxviii. 6;) and it is immediately followed by *Thogarmah*, i. e. Armenia (see below, § VII.) and the remote countries of the north.⁵

1. As *Calmet*, J. D. *Michælis*, in his *Spicel. P. I.* p. 16, with which compare his *Suppl. ad Lexx. Heb.* p. 333, where there are several retractations and amendments. *Hasse* *Entdeck. P. I.* p. 8; and *Hartmann* *Aufklär. über Asien, P. I.* p. 150.

2. At the beginning of the 11th Book, Ulysses is wafted by a wind raised by Circe to the shore of the Cimmerians, where the great river Okeanos (Oceanus) runs into the sea, (V. 15—21 of Pope's translation.)

There in a lonely land, and gloomy cells,
The dusky nation of Cimmeria dwells;
The sun ne'er views the uncomfortable seats,
When radiant he advances, or retreats:
Unhappy race! whom endless night invades,
Clouds the dull air, and wraps them round in shades.

3. *Herodotus* I. 6, 15, 16, 103; IV. 1, 11, 12. *Strabo* I. p. 20, 61; II. p. 309; XI. p. 494. Casaubon's Edit.

4. Comp. *Bayer's* Comment. de Cimмериis in Vol. II. of the Commentt. Acad. Scientiar. Petropol. and in his Opusc. Halle, 1770. 8vo. p. 126. He says at p. 130: Mihi Herodoti verba omnia perpendiculari vel maxime probabile videtur, Cimmericos, qui ad Tiram confluerant, occidentem et septentrionem petiisse, alios a locis Tanai vicinioribus, salutem quaesivisse in *Caucaseis saltibus et Asia*.

5. According to the oriental traditions collected by D'Herbelot and De Guignes, *Komari*, or *Gomer*, was the seventh son of Japhet, and dwelt on the river Etel or Wolga. (See above, Chap. III. note 7.) The radical consonants of the Hebrew גמר are found in the *Gumrah*, the name of a Caucasian race, mentioned by Reineggs, (*Beschreib. d. Kaukasus*, I. p. 94); yet we are not thence warranted to conclude that the Gumrah are descendants of Gomer. Bochart is peculiarly unhappy in his etymological conjectures respecting Gomer (cap. 8, p. 195.) He derives it from the root גמר, which is well known to signify to *be at an end, to cease*. In Chald. the Pael conjugation denotes to *consume or destroy*, and is used by the Chaldee translators in reference to fire, as being destructive; hence גומרא *a burning coal*. Now Strabo, and Stephen of Byzantium, mention a country of Phrygia Κατακαυμένη, that is *the burned*, and φρύγειν, (whence Phrygia) signifies *to roast*; therefore Phrygia being interpreted, becomes גומר, Go-

mer! According to Hasse, (*Entdeck. P. I. p. 8*), the Cimmerians did originally settle in the Crimea, but from them descended the Cimbri of Jutland, the Celts and the Welsh, who call themselves *Kymr*. Objections to this view have been advanced by Hartmann, in his work cited in note 1. Schulthess (*Das Paradies*, p. 176,) understands by Gomer the Chomeri, who, according to Ptolemy, had their seat towards the north, and in the direction of the Oxus, between the Salatura and Komi.

SECT. III.—ASHKENAZ.

Ashkenaz, אַשְׁכְּנַז, is mentioned in Gen. x. 3, along with Gomer, and probably denotes a race in the same neighbourhood. The only other place of Scripture where it occurs is in Jerem. li. 27. It is there classed among the nations that were to execute the Divine judgments upon Babylon and Chaldea, and is joined with Ararat and Minni, provinces of Armenia. This leads to the conjecture that Ashkenaz was also a tribe either of Armenia itself, or of some neighbouring country in the Caucasus, or towards the Black Sea.¹

1. *Bochart* (*Phaleg. III. 9*), places Ashkenaz towards Bithynia, in the north-west part of Asia Minor, on the Propontis, and this upon no other grounds than that there was there a lake Ascanius,

a river Ascanius, and a gulf of the same name. In Lesser Phrygia or Troas, there was a province, and also a town that bore the name of Ascania; and there were also islands on the coast, called the Ascanian Isles. But, according to the above-mentioned description by Jeremiah, this district is too far west to be identified with the Ashkenaz of Scripture. *Calmet* conjectures (in his Comment. on Gen. x. 3, and his Dictionary of the Bible,) that by Ashkenaz are intended the Ascantes, who, according to Pliny, (Hist. Nat. VI. 7,) dwelt on the Tanais and the Black Sea. But in that passage of Pliny, *Ascanticos* seems a false reading for *Contocaptas*. See *Hardouin* Notae et Emendatt. ad Lib. VI. p. 353, No. 28. *Schulthess* (Das Paradies, p. 178) seeks for Ashkenaz in the neighbourhood of Ararat, where Ptolemy places the province of Astaunitis (found in no other geographer) to the west of Mount Abos; and not far off, to the east, in Bactriana, the town of Astacana, called by Ammianus, Astacia. Similar names are also *Ascatancas* in Ptolemy, north-east of the Stone Tower in the land of the Sakæ; *Acanimia Mons* in Ammianus; and *Assaceni* in Arrian, in the modern Bishore, on the east bank of the river Attok, which runs from Cabul to the south, and falls into the Indus at Attok." But it needs scarcely be remarked, that these countries lie too far south to be thought of here. There is more probability in the remark of *Hasse* (Entdeck. I. p. 19) that Ashkenaz is a foreign word adopted by the Hebrews. "It resembles the ancient Greek name of the Black Sea, Pontus Axenus (Pontus Euxinus, olim *Axenos*, says Pomponius Mela, I. 19.) and denotes

the inhabitants of Pontus." The Chald. Paraphrast on Jer. li. 27, explains Ashkenaz by **הדיב** Hadeib, perhaps the Assyrian province of Adiabene. Among the later Hebrews, Ashkenaz is considered to be Germany, and, in the phraseology of the Rabbins, the *Ashkenazim* are the Germans, though it is an application of the term that is altogether arbitrary. For other meanings, see J. D. Michaelis, Spicel. P. I. p. 59.

SECT. IV.—GOG AND MAGOG.

The word Magog, which in the ethnographic table in Genesis, is the name of Japhet's second son, appears in Ezek. xxxviii. 2, as the name of a country, whose ruler was called Gog,¹ and who, at the same time, was prince of Meshech and Tubal, that is of the Moschi and Tibareni. It is said, that after the people of God should be delivered from all their enemies and oppressors, and enjoy a long season of repose, this powerful monarch would collect a numerous and formidable host of the tribes of the distant north, and overrun the Holy Land, where, however, he would meet a signal overthrow, and be buried in a valley on the east side of the lake of Gennesareth, ch. xxxix. 11. In the Revelation of St. John, ch. xx. 8, Gog and Magog are not spoken of as lands or their rulers, but as two great nations, comprising the heathen at the four ends of the earth, who, after the millennial reign, shall be stirred up by Satan

to encamp against the holy city, and shall be destroyed by fire from heaven. Among the Arabs and Persians the nations of Yajooj and Majooj correspond to the Gog and Magog of the Hebrews.² They are supposed to have descended from Japhet, and to dwell in the distant north. Alexander the Great is said to have erected a wall, in order to prevent the inroads of these plundering tribes into the countries of the south. From the accounts found in Arabian and Persian geographers of Yajooj and Majooj, we conclude that they comprehend, under this designation, all the less known barbarous people of the north-east and north-west of Asia;³ the same who were described among the Greeks and Romans by the name of Scythians, and among the later Europeans by the name of Tatars, [corrupted into Tartars.] Yet though the Gog and Magog of the Hebrews may have had an equally vague acceptation, it nevertheless seems to have pointed more precisely to the *northern tribes of Caucasus*, between the Euxine and Caspian Seas.⁴ This idea is countenanced, not only by the fact of the names being connected in Ezekiel with Ararat (Armenia), Meshech (the Moschi), and Tubal (the Tibareni); but also by the circumstance that the famous Caucasian wall, anciently erected by a Persian monarch as a defence against the incursions of the northern barba-

rians, and which extended from Derbend, on the western shore of the Caspian to near the Black Sea, was called *the Wall* (against) *Yajooj and Majooj*, i. e. Gog and Magog,⁵ a name which the remains still bear.⁶ In the Apocalypse, the terms Gog and Magog are evidently used allegorically, as names of the enemies of Christianity, who will endeavour to extirpate it from the earth, but shall thereby bring upon themselves signal destruction.⁷

1. גוג ארץ המגוג.

2. ياجوج وماجوج. The letter ج, (*Jim*) which corresponds to the Hebrew ג (*Gimel*), is pronounced by the Arabs and Persians like the German *dsch*.^a

3. The Arabian traditions of Yajooj and Majooj, from the geographical works of Edrisi and Ibn-el-Wardi, are collected in *Klaproth's Asiat. Magazine*, I. p. 138. But as a selection only is there given from the accounts of Ibn-el-Wardi, the entire Arabic text, with a Latin translation, will be found in *Hylander's Specimen Operis Cosmographici Ibn-el-Vardi*, Partic. XX. XXI. XXII. Lund. 1803, 4to. Comp. *D'Herbelot's Bibl. Orient*, under the Article *Jagiouge* and *Magiouce*. *Hasse Entdeckungen*, I. p. 13; *Hartmann's Aufklär. über, Asien*. I. p. 160.

4. Jerome says, in his Comment. on Ezek. xxxviii. 2, that the Jews of his day supposed “Magog esse gentes Scythicas immanes et innumerabiles, quae trans Cauca-

^a It answers to the English *j* or soft *g*.—M.

sum montem et Maeotidem paludem, et prope Caspium mare ad Indiam usque tendantur." *Hasse* (in loc. cit.) finds in Gog, when gutturally pronounced *Kauh*, the name of Caucasus. *Reineggs* (Description of the Caucasus, Part II. p. 79,) mentions that "the middle range of the Caucasus is inhabited by a people called Thiulet, who designate their mountains Gef or Ghog, (a word in the Ossi language, signifying a mountain, *Reineggs*, Part I. p. 216;) and the highest and most northerly peak they term Moghef or Mugogh."^a According to *Bochart*, (Phaleg. iii. 19,) the word Gog has been preserved in the name of the province of Γωγαρήνη, a part of Iberia, on the river Lycus or Kur, and mentioned by Strabo, XI. 13, 4. The Magogites are placed by C. F. *Cramer* in the Scythian countries north of the Caucasus; see his Scythian Memorials in Palestine. Hamburg and Kiel, 1777, 8vo. (p. 104,) *Brunns* has an article in Gabler's Journal of Theological Literature, Vol. V. p. 50, entitled "A Comparison of the Greek and Roman accounts of the early condition of Mankind with those of the Hebrews." He there takes Magog for the north-east of Tartary towards China, and thinks Magog is compounded of two words, *Ma* and *Gog*. "The former word *Ma*, for which *Maha* is also used, signifies in Sanscrit *Great*, and has spread itself over the whole of Asia. And as the Indians call China, *Maha-Tsin*, the Great Tsin, so Magog denotes the Great Gog.

^a After the extraordinary mistake of *Reineggs*, respecting an alleged volcanic eruption of Mount Ararat, (see below Sect. VII. p. 146,) his statement here must be received with great suspicion.—M.

Comp. *De Guignes*, Hist. of the Huns and Turks. Introduction, p. 92."—*Schulthess* (Das Paradies, p. 182,) understands under Gog and Magog, the Sakæ, and Massagetæ, Scythian tribes south-east of the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea. Gog and Magog seem to him to stand in the same relation as Sakæ and Massagetæ, which last he thinks is composed of *Mas* and *Saka*, "just as Masdoranus, the mountain-ridge between Parthia and Margiana, to the north-east of which dwelt the Massagetæ, is formed of *Mas* and *Dura*. The Persian *Megh* signifies *Great*, (See the Zend-Avesta by *Kleuker*, Part III. p. 225, note.) Thus Magsakæ became Massagetæ, and if the Sakæ were by the Hebrews called Gog, the Massagetæ would be termed by them Magog." But to this opinion we cannot assent, for the reasons given above.

5. سد ياجوج وماجوج See *Bayer's* Dissert. de Muro Caucaseo, in Vol. I. of the Commentt. Acad. Scientar. Petropol. and in his Opuscula, p. 94. When Peter the Great was at war with Persia in the year 1722,^a Derbend and the surrounding country fell into his power. Demetrius Cantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia, obtained permission of the Emperor to examine this remarkable monument of antiquity; and after overcoming many difficulties, he found near Derbend a remnant of the wall, of which he drew up a plan, which Bayer received from his son, and has given in the above-mentioned Dissertation. The traveller, Gmelin,

^a In the original it is 1772; but that is evidently an anachronism, for Peter died in 1725. The date I have given is the correct one.—M.

visited this wall in the month of June 1770, in the course of the scientific mission upon which he was sent by the Russian government, and he has left the following description, (*Journey through Russia. Petersburg, 1774, Vol. III. p. 12.*) “From near the fortress of Derbend there runs straight west, across hill and valley, a wall, of which the natives affirm that it once reached to the Black Sea, and the still existing remains render this highly probable. I rode to it with some of my people, not without risk of being attacked by some of the neighbouring Lesghis, who regard travellers as a very inviting prey to be captured and sold as slaves. The remains in question are about a German mile and a-half^a from the town, and consist of a thick wall, thirty feet high, similar to one of the walls of Derbend, but of much stronger masonry. It runs for a considerable way into the province of Tabasseran, is, for the distance of a werst, almost as entire as when first erected, but in other places is partially or wholly fallen down. There are at intervals pointed or pyramidical watch towers, which in some places present the appearance of the ruins of a large fortress. Two of these I ascended. The one, which is the most distant, is built into the wall, the other is within hearing distance of it. They are of a square form, provided with subterraneous vaults, and tolerably high; the snow-clad Caucasus is distinctly seen from them. This wall seems to have been built in almost a straight line from the Caspian to the Euxine, and the watch-towers and fortresses were probably erected as a

^a About seven English miles.

means of keeping up communication between Derbend, the garrison at the eastern extremity, and the fastnesses in the mountains."

6. *Ker Porter's Travels*, II. p. 520. [See an extract in the Appendix to this chapter.] *Reineggs' Description of the Caucasus*, Vol. I. p. 120. *Ritter's Erdkunde*, Part II. p. 834.

7. In the Koran also (Sur. xviii. 94; xxi. 96) it is mentioned as one of the signs of the approach of the day of judgment, that the nations Yajooj and Majooj will break through their wall and lay waste the earth.

SECT. V.—ROSH.

AMONG the nations who were subject to the ruler of Magog, the prophet Ezekiel (chap. xxxviii. 2),^a first mentions *Rosh*¹. Now, as we have placed Magog within or near the Caucasus, his fellow subject *Rosh*, who is also connected with Meshech (the Moschi) and with Tubal, (the Tibareni) must be sought for in the neighbourhood of the same mountain chain. Among the tribes of Caucasus, Pliny (Hist. Nat. VI. 4,) mentions the people, or district of *Rhoas*, between the Soani or Suanes, (who still bear that name) and the province of Ecrectice, a part of Northern Mingrelia. This *Rhoas* is, with great probability, conjectured by Reineggs² to be the Iberian province of *Rhædsh*. In both names we

^a No mention will be found of *Rosh* in the English Bible, for our translators, like Luther, have rendered נשיא ראש by "chief prince"—in the margin. "prince of the chief."—M.

find the elements of the Hebrew word *Rosh*; and the geographical position, moreover, favours the supposition that this people, who are nowhere else mentioned in scripture, inhabited the northern part of Iberia, bordering upon the Caucasus.³

1. נשיא ראש משך וחובל. In Luther's translation, the name *Rosh* does not appear, the clause being translated "Gog is the *highest prince* in Mesech and Thubal." In this, Luther had followed the Vulgate, or the interpretation of Jerome, who renders ראש by *princeps capitis*; on the ground that *Rosh* is not found as a proper name in any other part of scripture. But how many other names of countries and people occur in the Bible only once? The oldest Greek translators have correctly taken ראש, for a proper name: ἡ δὲ ἄρχοντα 'Ρώς.

2. Descr. of the Caucasus, Vol. II. p. 34. "The Iberian province Rhædsh (Rhoas, *Plin.*) is bounded on the west by the tribe Letshghumi and Mingrelia, on the north by the tribes of the Soani and the Mamiason. It is peopled by 3600 families, who are the property of the king of Iberia. Persons who have performed signal services are commonly presented with a hundred or more families, who, on the death of the possessor, revert to the crown, to be again bestowed upon another favourite." *Klaproth* also mentions this district in the description of the Georgian countries, contained in the second volume of his *Travels into Caucasus* (Halle 1814, p. 30): "Imerethi with the mountain tract *Radsha* have to

the north the Mingrelian province of Letschchumi and the Snowy Caucasus. *Radsha* had once its own princes, who were vassals of Imerethi, bore the title of Radshiss-Erissthavi, i. e. governor of Radsha, and were very powerful." In like manner the princes of Rosh, Meshech, and Thubal, seem to have been vassals of the King of Magog.

3. *Bochart* (Phaleg. III. 13, p. 213.) holds רֶשֶׁת to be identical with رَسَ Ras or رَسَ Aras, the name of the river which the Greeks and Romans called the Araxes, and from which a district of Armenia, traversed by that river, was called Araxene. But that appears to be too far south to suit the connection in which Rosh and Magog, Meshech and Tubal, are found to stand. *J. D. Michaelis* (Suppl. ad Lexx. Heb. p. 22, 24) thinks of a Scythian tribe 'Pῶς, who are described by the Monk *George*, a writer of the tenth century, as a wild and barbarous tribe in Mount Taurus. See *Stritter Memoriae populorum olim ad Danubium, paludem Maeotidis, Caucasum etc. habitantibus* T. II. p. 957. *Simon Logotheta*, another writer of the same age, also quoted by *Stritter*, (p. 958) says: "Ἐθνὸς δὲ οἱ 'Ρῶς Σκυθικὸν, περὶ ἀρχαῖων Ταύρων κατοικήμενον, ἀνήμερόν τε καὶ ἄγριον. According to the traditions preserved by Persian and Arabic writers, and collected by *D'Herbelot* (in his *Bibl. Orient.* under the article *Rus*) رُوس i. e. *Rus* was the eighth son of Japhet,^a and his descendants are, by *Abulfaraj*, always joined with the Bulgarians, Slavonians, and Alani. See his *Hist. Dynast.* p. 105, 135, 474, 591, of the

^a See the present work, p. 103.

Arab. text. But this people cannot well be made out to be the Russians, which is *D'Herbelot's* conjecture; far less can the Rosh of Ezekiel be held to be Russia, which is the opinion of *Calmet*, in his Dictionary (*Art. Ros.*)

§ VI.—MESHECH AND THUBAL.

THESE two names¹ are found together, not only in the Ethnographic Table in Genesis (chap. x. 2.) but also wherever they are mentioned in the Old Testament, Ezekiel xxvii. 13 : xxxii. 26 : xxxviii. 2, 3 : xxxix. 1. In like manner, the Greek writers class together the two tribes of similar name with these, the Moschi and Tibareni,² who, according to Herodotus,³ belonged to the same government in the Persian monarchy, were marshalled in arms under the same leader, and formed but one division of the host. These tribes inhabited a part of the second and more southern range of the Caucasus, which extends from the Turkish harbour and fortress of Bataumi, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, to the banks of the Aras or Araxes. This chain, which runs to the south-east, and is very woody, is now called the Mountains of *Tschildir*.⁴ What Greek and Roman writers say of the Moschi, who once dwelt in this mountain tract, and of the Tibareni, who were their neighbours to the west, agrees very well with the accounts of Ezekiel respecting Meshech and Thubal. In the prophecy against Tyre, it is said (chap. xxvii. 13),

“ Meshech and Thubal trade with thee, and give thee for thy wares, slaves and copper vessels.” Parthian Cappadocia, which bordered upon the countries of the Caucasus, and to which the Tibareni were also reckoned to belong, has been, from the earliest times to the present day, the seat of a slave-trade,⁵ which is greatly promoted by its vicinity to the plundering Caucasian tribes. Persons of both sexes from the fine races of Georgia and Circassia, are seized and sold throughout the east. When the prophet farther speaks of copper vessels as brought to the Tyrian market by Meshech and Thubal, this applies no less suitably to the Moschian Mountains, which, according to Reineggs,⁶ are rich in different kinds of copper. In another place (chap. xxxii. 26), Ezekiel mentions Meshech and Thubal among the barbarous nations whose invading hordes were to become the terror of the world. These were always deemed to be the people of the north ; and the Caucasian tribes (Magog) which in Ezekiel xxxviii. 2, 3 : xxxix. 1, are joined along with Meshech and Thubal, were [and are to this day] warlike and barbarous marauders.⁷ Hence, the writer of the hundred-and-twentieth Psalm (ver. 5), describes the enemies of his country under the names of Meshech and Kedar,⁸ meaning thereby “ both northern and southern barbarians.”

1. משך ותובל.

2. *Bochart* says (Phaleg. III. 12 :) *Itaque quum a*

Mesech vel a *Mosoch* *Moschos* recte deducant non pauci recentiorum, est quod miretur lector. nulli dum venisse in mentem, *Tubal Tibarenos* condidisse, ut *Mesech Moschos*. Neque enim si ex *Tubal* Graeci fecerunt *Tibar* et Τίβαριν χώραν, ut habet Diodorus (L. IV. p. 413.), aut *Tibaros*, ut Eusebius (Praepar. L. I.) et Strabo (L. XI.) et crescente voce *Tibarenos*, mutatio haec tanti fuit, ut doctorum oculos debuerit configere; quum Graecos sit notissimum scribere Φιχώρ pro *Picol*, et Σαράδ pro *Saled*, et Βελιάρ pro *Belial*. Tale est, quod ex *Uzal* vel *Auzal* factum Ἀύσαρα et ex *Chalmadda* Χαρμάνδη.

3. III. 94. Μόσχοισι δὲ, καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι — — — τριηκόσια τάλαντα προσέφητο. B. VII. cap. 78. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ κατὰπερ Μόσχοι ἐσκευασμένοι ἐστρατεύοντο τούτους δὲ συνέτασσον ἄρχοντες οἷδε· Μόσχους μὲν καὶ Τιβαρηνοὺς, Ἀριόμαρδος κ. τ. λ.. See other quotations in Bochart (loc. cit.)

4. *Reinegg's* Descr. of the Caucasus, Vol. I. p. 6, and Vol. II. p. 61. *Ker Porter's* Trav. Vol. I. p. 152; Vol. II. p. 646, 653.

5. *Bochart* (loc. cit.) p. 206. *Tscherkessens* (i. e. Circassians), says Klaproth, very seldom sell their own countrymen to the Turks, but generally slaves who have been stolen. The greatest number of beautiful women are brought from Imerethi and Mingrelia; and hence the slave-trade of Circassia Proper is now very much limited to males.

6. Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. II. p. 143. Comp. *Bochart*, in loc. p. 207, 208.

7. "Amid all their differences of language, each of those tribes has but one great ambition, viz. to be

deemed the most cunning and distinguished robbers. Deprived of the means of supporting themselves by honest industry, they are compelled to relieve their necessities by robbery and plunder." *Reineggs*, Vol. I. p. 40.

8. " Woe is me that I sojourn in Meshech !
That I dwell among the tents of Kedar !"^a

SECT. VII.—THOGARMAH ; ARARAT ; MINNI.

We class these three names together, because they designate one country, viz. Armenia, or particular portions thereof.

1. Thogarmah, תוגרמה, appears, not only in the Ethnographic table in Genesis, but likewise in Ezekiel (ch. xxxviii. 6,) in connection with Gomer ; and, in the latter place, as well as in ch. xxvii. 14, it is placed in the vicinity of Meshech and Thubal. These circumstances lead us to fix the tribe or country, known by this name, in the region that was north of the Hebrews, and specially in Armenia. For the idea that Thogarmah denotes that country, is confirmed by the traditions preserved in the writings of the Armenians and Georgians.¹ According to them, the Armenians, Georgians, Lesghians, Mingrelians, and people of Caucasus, are all descended from one ancestor, who was called *Thargamoss*,²

^a A tribe of Bedouin Arabs.

and was a son of Awanan, son of Japhet, son of Noah. After the confusion of tongues, when Nebrod (Nimrod) reigned in Babylon, and men began to be dispersed over the earth, Thargamoss went forth with his family, and settled between the mountains of Ararat and Massissi. He dwelt at Nachtschiwan, near Ararat, lived six hundred years, and had, by his many wives, a great number of sons and daughters. His numerous posterity, however, have no longer their seat between Ararat and Massissi, but spread themselves throughout the whole country. The boundaries of their habitation were the following: on the east, the Sea of Gurgan, which is now called the Sea of Ghilan (the Caspian); on the west the Sea of Pontus, or the Black Sea; on the south, the mountains of Orethi, which are in the land of the Kurds, towards Midia (Media); on the north, Mount Kawcass (Caucasus). The Armenians call themselves “the House of *Thorgom*,”³ and the Prophet Ezekiel uses the same expression in two places of his prophecy, ch. xxvii. 14; xxxviii. 6.⁴ In the former of these passages, it is said, that from the house of Thogarmah, horses and mules were sent to the market of Tyre; and this well agrees with Armenia, which was famed of old as a country rich in excellent horses.⁵

2. Ararat, אֶרֶץ אֲרָרַט, the country, upon the mountains of which Noah’s ark rested after the

flood, Gen. viii. 4 ; and which is also mentioned by the prophet Isaiah, (ch. xxxvii. 38, comp. 2 Kings xix. 37) ; and by Jeremiah, (ch. li. 27,) was, according to the Armenian historian, Moses of Chorene, in the topographical description of his native country,⁶ its principal province. It lay in the centre of the region, and was divided into *twenty* circles, whose names are enumerated by the writer just mentioned.

3. Minni, מִנִּי, is named in Jerem. li. 27, among the nations near Ararat, that were called forth against Babylon. In a fragment of the Universal History of Nicholas of Damascus, preserved by Josephus,⁷ mention is made of the province of Minyas, in the neighbourhood of Mount Ararat, which, in all probability, is the *Minni* of Scripture, either a province bordering on Armenia, or some part of that country which had its own governors.

Armenia⁸ has for natural boundaries, the southern range of Caucasus, or the Moschian Mountains of the ancients, on the north, and the almost impassable chain of Taurus on the south. To the east and west the limits are less clearly defined ; and hence it is in these directions that the extent of the Armenian territory has so often varied. The high plains of Armenia gradually rise from the flat country of Iran on the east ; and as gradually sink towards Asia Minor on the west. The elevation begins towards the

east, at the plain of the town of Taurus, on the Lake of Urmi, where is the commencement of that romantic mountain and forest scenery, which characterizes so large a portion of Armenia; while the plateaus, though destitute of wood, are covered with rich grassy pastures. The high plain of Armenia, on the right bank of the Euphrates, slopes, for several days' journey, westward towards the modern Pachalik of Rumili or Anatoli, (Natolia.) Throughout the whole country there are found extensive tracts of high and naked table land, with peaks of no great elevation occasionally rising above them, which are covered with snow even during the hottest summers.⁹

From the earliest times, Armenia has been divided into *Great* and *Little Armenia*; and that not only by the natives, but by the Greeks and Romans, and the people of the east generally. The former constitutes the eastern, and by far the larger division; the latter the western. Little Armenia is sometimes considered a part of Natolia, lying on the west bank of the Euphrates. It includes portions of the ancient provinces of Cappadocia, Cilicia, and Pontus, and consequently of the modern districts of Carnania, Merash or Oladuli, and Siwas. It is under the dominion of Turkey. Great Armenia is separated from the Lesser by the Euphrates; from Mesopotamia and Kurdistan, or the ancient

Assyria, by Mount Taurus; and that portion of modern Kurdistan, which comprises the Lake of Van and surrounding territory, belongs originally and properly to Great Armenia. The latter is at present divided into fifteen governments, whereof nine belong to the Persians, and six to the Turks.^{a10} The Armenians profess a peculiar form of Christianity, which was introduced into their country at a very early period.

Turkish Armenia is colder and much less fertile than Persian. Tournefort¹¹ found the springs covered with ice in the middle of July. The corn was at that season only a foot high, and vegetation was no farther advanced than it is wont to be at Paris towards the end of April. In the district of Arzeroom the grain yields only a fourfold return; and the wine is as poor as the water is excellent. Yet Tournefort himself speaks elsewhere of the abundance of corn, and other provisions; and he especially celebrates the great number of rare and splendid trees growing in the plains of Arzeroom, the seeds of many of which he collected, and dispersed among the principal gardens of Europe. Milder in climate, and more productive in soil, is Persian Armenia, a country mentioned in terms of high commendation by ancient and modern writers. Armenia, says Strabo, brings forth all kinds of esteemed fruits and ve-

^a By recent treaties, a large portion of Armenia now belongs to Russia. See the Appendix to Chap. IV.—M.

getables ; and the Armenian pastures equal the far-famed pastures of Media. Chardin calls Armenia one of the most beautiful and fertile countries on the face of the earth.¹²

The most remarkable part of Persian Armenia, is that which has borne from remotest antiquity the name of ARARAT, and now forms a distinct government, whose chief town is Erivan.^a The tradition, that it was upon the mountain of this name¹³ that the ark of Noah rested after the deluge, is confirmed by very weighty ancient testimonies, and is certainly one of the oldest traditions that has come down to our day.¹⁴ Among the Persians it is still called *Kuhi Nuch*, i. e. Noah's Mountain. Rising from an extensive plain, it towers in massive grandeur to the clouds, in which its two snow-clad summits are commonly enveloped. The description which Ker Porter has given of this remarkable mountain, and the adjacent country,¹⁵ may not improperly find a place here. When this traveller first beheld the double summit of Ararat (in the month of November 1817), its height did not appear to him so extraordinary.¹⁶ " From the elevation of the spot where I stood, and the numerous mountains, though inferior to it, that obstructed my view, its appearance did not strike me in the way I had

^a In 1828 the Khanats of Erivan and Nakshivan were ceded to Russia. The boundary line passes over the summit of the Little Ararat.—M.

expected. But the true effect, like that in my perfect sight of the Caucasus, after a similar disappointment, was only postponed. Proceeding south-east for nearly forty wersts, at the extremity of a very long valley, we arrived at the ruins of a caravansary, where we halted an hour to rest our horses. At this place a pleasant change presented itself, both in the face of nature and the state of the atmosphere. The universality of the snow had been gradually disappearing during our last day's journey; and the unencumbered heights began to shoot out a little grass. Here the opening of the valley shewed still less of white and more of green; and the air, though cold, had something of a spring-like elasticity, a no unnecessary cordial to the traveller who reaches this point from the cheerless tract we had just passed over. In fact, during our whole march from the Valley of Kotchivan till we arrived at the caravansary, we had seen neither man nor beast out of our own little band; and the dead aspect of all objects around, assisted the impression of our being in some vast depopulated wilderness." But he goes on to say, a little after,

" On leaving our halting place, a fuller view of the great plain of Ararat gradually expanded before us, and the mountain itself began to tower, in all its majesty, to the very canopy of heaven. It bore south-east from the line of our caravansary. We now took a descending posi-

tion due east, over a stony and difficult road, which carried us, for more than ten wersts, through several close and rocky defiles, and over as many frozen streams, till we reached a small Mahometan village on the side of the Moschian hills. On the morning of the 17th November (O. S.), we left our hospitable Mussulmans, for whether they were so inclined, or overawed by the fierce looks and glittering arms of my attendants, I will not pretend to say, but I had no reason to complain of their want of civility. We set forth over a road as bad as that of the day before, in a direction south-east, and gradually descending from a great height, through a very extended sloping country, towards the immense plain of Ararat. In our way we passed relics of a considerable town called Talish. A little farther we saw the ruins of what had been a fine caravansary, on the side of a mountain stream, and from amid the mouldering walls we observed a few half-starved wretches creeping to the air as if that were their only aliment. Indeed sterility seemed to have been the curse of this immediate spot. Not a trace of verdure was discoverable on the ground; all parts were covered with volcanic stones, or rather masses of cinders, as if thrown from an iron forge, black, heavy, and honey-combed. Lower down upon this long declivity, rises a mound of earth and rock, which in any neighbourhood but that of Ararat, would be called a mountain. Here it ap-

pears scarcely a hill. Its form and substance are evidently those of an extinguished volcano; but in what ages it has been at work, we have not means to guess; no authors of established veracity, ancient or modern, having said one word of any known volcanic eruption in the regions of Ararat. Besides the cinders above mentioned, I observed in several places, during our downward march, large portions of rock of a soft red stone, bearing likewise the marks of calcination.

“As the vale opened beneath us in our descent, my whole attention became absorbed in the view before me. A vast plain, peopled with countless villages; the towers and spires of the churches of Eitch-mai-adzen arising from amidst them; the glittering waters of the Araxes, flowing through the fresh green of the vale, and the subordinate range of mountains skirting the base of the awful monument of the antediluvian world. It seemed to stand a stupendous link in the history of man, uniting the two races of men before and after the flood. But it was not until we had arrived upon the flat plain, that I beheld Ararat in all its amplitude of grandeur. From the spot on which I stood, it appeared as if the hugest mountains of the world had been piled upon each other to form this one sublime immensity of earth, and rock, and snow. The icy peaks of its double heads rose majestically into the clear and cloudless heavens; the sun

blazed bright upon them, and the reflection sent forth a dazzling radiance equal to other suns. This point of the view united the utmost grandeur of plain and height. But the feelings I experienced, while looking on the mountain, are hardly to be described. My eye, not able to rest for any length of time upon the blinding glory of its summits, wandered down the apparently interminable sides, till I could no longer tract their vast lines in the mists of the horizon, when an irrepressible impulse immediately carrying my eye upwards, again refixed my gaze upon the awful glare of Ararat; and this bewildered sensibility of sight being answered by a similar feeling in the mind, for some moments I was lost in a strange suspension of the powers of thought.¹⁷

“Agrida^a is the name given to this sublime mountain by the Turks; and the Armenians call it *Macis*, but all unite in revering it as the haven of the great ship which preserved the father of mankind from the waters of the deluge. The height of Ararat has never yet been measured with any satisfactory degree of accuracy, though Captain Monteith of the Madras Engineers has gone nearer to the mark perhaps than any other traveller. The following are the results of several trigonometrical observations which he made at Erivan, and was so kind as to

^a *Agridagh*, i. e. high, steep mountain.—M.

communicate to me. From that place to the highest point of the loftiest head, he found fifty-two thousand yards, and from the same spot to the minor head, fifty-five thousand yards. This head (which is distinguished by the appellation Little Ararat, while the higher part is called Great Ararat) is distant from the other from peak to peak twelve thousand yards. Little Ararat bears from Great Ararat, S. 60 E. Great Ararat bears from the monastery of Eitch-maidzen, S. 5 W., and Little Ararat S. 6 E.

“ Those inaccessible summits have never been trodden by the foot of man,^a since the days of Noah, if even then; for my idea is that the ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either. Various attempts have been made in different ages to ascend these tremendous mountain-pyramids, but in vain. Their form, snows and glaciers, are insurmountable obstacles; the distance being so great from the commencement of the icy region, to the highest points, cold alone would be the destruction of any person who would have the hardihood to persevere.¹⁸ On viewing Mount Ararat from the northern side of the plain, its two heads are separated by a wide cleft, or rather glen in the body of the mountain.¹⁹ The rocky side of

^a It will be seen from our Appendix to the present chapter that this assertion is no longer true.—M.

the greater head runs almost perpendicularly down to the north-east, while the lesser head rises from the sloping bosom of the cleft in a perfectly conical shape. Both heads are covered with snow; the form of the greater is similar to the less, only broader, and rounder at the top; and shows, to the north-west a broken and abrupt front; opening about half way down into a stupendous chasm, deep, rocky, and peculiarly black. At that part of the mountain the hollow of the chasm receives an interruption from the projections of minor mountains, which start from the sides of Ararat like branches from the root of a tree, and run along in undulating progression, till lost in the distant vapours of the plain.

“The dark chasm which I have mentioned as being in the side of the great head of the mountain, is supposed by some travellers to have been the exhausted crater of Ararat. Dr. Reineggs²⁰ even affirms it, by stating that, in the year 1783, during certain days in the month of January and February, an eruption took place in that mountain; and he suggests the probability of the burning ashes ejected thence at that time reaching to the southern side of the Caucasus, (a distance in a direct line of two hundred and twenty wersts;) and so depositing the volcanic productions which are found there. The reason he gives for this latter supposition is, that the trapp seen there did not originate in those mountains,

and must consequently have been sent thither by volcanic explosions elsewhere. And that this elsewhere, which he concludes to be Ararat, may have been that mountain, I do not pretend to dispute ; but those events must have taken place many centuries ago, even before history took note of the spot ; for since that period we have no intimation whatever of any part of Ararat having been seen in a burning state. This part of Asia was well known to the ancient historians, from being the seat of certain wars they describe ; and it cannot be supposed that, had so conspicuous a mountain been often or ever (within the knowledge of man,) in a state of volcanic eruption, we should not have heard of it from Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, or others, but, on the contrary, all these writers are silent on such a subject with regard to Ararat ; while every one who wrote in the vicinities of Etna or of Vesuvius, had something to say of the thunders and molten fires of those mountains. That there are volcanic remains to a vast extent around Ararat, every person who visits its neighbourhood must testify ; and, giving credit to Dr. Reineggs' assertion, that an explosion of the mountain had happened in his time, I determined to support so interesting a fact, with the evidence of every observation on my part, when I should reach the spot. But on arriving at the monastery of Eitch-mai-adzen, where my remarks must

chiefly be made, and discoursing with the fathers on the idea of Ararat having been a volcano, I found that a register of the general appearances of the mountain had been regularly kept by their predecessors and themselves, for upwards of eight hundred years, and that nothing of an eruption, or any thing tending to such an event, was to be found in any one of these notices. When I spoke of an explosion of the mountain having taken place in the year 1783, and which had been made known to Europe, by a traveller declaring himself to have been an eye-witness, they were all in surprise, and besides the written documents to the contrary, I was assured by several of the holy brethren, who had been resident in the plain for upwards of forty years, that during the whole of that period they had never seen such a smoke from the mountain. Therefore, how the author in question fell into so very erroneous misstatements, I can form no guess.²¹

1. See *Moses of Chorene*, Hist. Armen. I. 8, p. 24. Whiston's Edit., and King Wachtang the Fifth's History of Georgia. While Klaproth was at Tiflis, he caused a portion of the latter work (from the commencement to the fourth century of the Christian era,) to be translated by a native Georgian, from his mother tongue into Russian, and a German version of this Klaproth has given in his Travels into the Caucasus, Vol. II. p. 64, from which the above particulars are extracted.

2. *J. D. Michaelis*, says (in his Spicileg, Tom. I.

p. 68.) Fuerunt codices, non nobis quidem illi servati, sed ab antiquis lecti interpretibus, in quibus literae inversa serie תרגמה *Thorgama*, collocatae erant. Sic certe Graecus Mosis interpretes legit, Θόργαμα, seu, ut habet codex Alexandrinus, Θέργαμα reddens, eademque scriptio, licet non sine varietate, in Ezechiele et Chronicis recurrit, licet hi libri ab alio interprete Graeca lingua donati sint. In Josepho quoque duplex scriptio, incertumque, utrum Θοργάμης, an Θοργάμης ab ejus manu sit. Armeniorum denique historici Thorgomum aliquem nominant, Thirasi filium, Gameri nepotem, a quo se ortos praedicant, qui sine dubio Thogarma est Mosis male intellecti. Vide Mosen Chorenensem, p. 12.

3. בית תוגרמה. In Syriac the word ܬܘܓܪܡܐ which corresponds to the Hebrew בית, also signifies *land, territory*, e. g. ܬܘܓܪܡܐ ܕܪܘܡܐ, *the territory of the Romans*. See *Michaelis* in *Castelli*, *Lex. Syr.* p. 96. The above Hebrew expression may, therefore, denote the *province* or *country* of Thogarmah.

4. See *Moses of Chorene* in loc. cit. p. 26, note.

5. *Strabo* says, (XI. 13, 9, p. 529, *Casaubon's* edit.) that in regard to the number of good horses, Armenia was not behind Media. There were also Nisæan horses there, which were used by the kings of Persia; and the Satrap of Armenia sent yearly to the Persian court twenty thousand foals for the feast of Mithras, καὶ ὁ σατράπης τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῷ Πέρσῃ κατ' ἔτος δίσμυριους πώλους τοῖς Μιθρακηνοῖς ἔπεμπεν. When Artavasdes met Antony in Media, he presented him with a troop of six thousand horse, fully equipped, and completely armed.

6. Hist. Armen. 361. Comp. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 518. According to the Armenian tradition in Moses of Chorene, the name Ararat was derived from Arai, the eighth of the native princes, who was killed in a battle in one of the plains, in memory of which the whole province was termed *Aray-iarat*, i. e. "the ruin of Arai."^a See *Schroeder's Dissertt. de Fatis Ling. Armen.*, prefixed to his *Thesaur. Ling. Armen.*, p. 16. Jerome in his *Comment. on Isa. xxxvii. 38*, says: *Ararat autem regio in Armenia campestris est, per quam Araxes fluit, incredibilis ubertatis, qui usque illuc extenditur.*

7. Antiq. I. 1, 6. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐνενηχοστῇ παλ' ἔκτη βίβλῃ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν, λέγων οὕτως. ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινυάδα μέγα ὕψος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν, Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὃ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισωθῆναι, καὶ τινὰ ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὀχοῦμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὀκεῖλαι, καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. See also the following note.

8. The origin of the name Armenia is uncertain. *Moses of Chorene*, in his enumeration of the Armenian princes, mentions *Armenagh* as the second, and *Harma* as the third, and from these he derives the name of his native country. Hist. p. 35. Comp. *Schroeder's Diss.* p. 16. According to others, *e. g. Hartmann*, (*Aufklär. über Asien*, I. p. 34) the name comes from Aram, a descendant of Shem, after whom an extensive region was called Aramæa, which originally included in it Armenia. Others conjecture,

^a The battle is said to have been with the Babylonians; and the date assigned, about B. C. 1750.—M.

that the etymology is to be sought in אַרַם *aram* (the root of which is רוּם *to be high*), being so denominated on account of its elevated situation. *Bochart* (Phaleg. I. 3, p. 24) thinks that Armenia was originally הַר-מִנִּי, *Har-Minni*, i. e. Mount Minni, or the mountain-land of Minyas. See note 7. This is likewise the opinion of *Wahl*, (*Asien*. p. 807, note:) “Minyas is of similar signification with the מִנִּי of scripture. From this הַר-מִנִּי *Har-minni* (Mount Minni) arose the Arabic name *Armen*, اَرْمَنِ, which Jerome writes *Armon*, the ancient [Greek] translators *Aquila* and *Symmachus Armona*. *Har-Minni* is the “Heavenly Mountain,” the mountain whose top reaches to heaven, meaning *Ararat*; for *mino* in *Zend*, and *myno*, *myny* in *Parsee*, signify heaven, heavenly. And hence the ancients called the whole province of *Ararat*, *Minyas*.” In the country itself, the name *Armenia* is not used; but the people are called *Haik*, the country *Haichia* (in *Armenian* *Hayotz-zor*, the Valley of Haiks,) from *Haik*, the fifth descendant of *Noah* and *Japhet*, in the traditionary genealogy of the country. See *Moses of Chorene’s Hist.* p. 29, 30.

9. See *Ritter’s Erdkunde*, Vol. II. p. 712, 713.

10. A particular account of these governments will be found in *Schamirow’s* Historical and Geographical Description of the kingdom of Armenia, translated from Armenian into Russian (St. Petersburg, 1786); of which *Busse* has given a German version, in the introduction to his Translation of the Memoirs of the Armenian, *Artemius of Wagar-shapat*, on Mount *Ararat*. Halle, 1821, 8vo. (p. 5, et seqq.) Comp. *Saint-Martin* Mémoires Historiques et Geographi-

ques sur l'Arménie, Paris, 1819, 2 Vol. 8vo. The most ancient division of Armenia into provinces will be found in *Ritter's* Erdkunde, Vol. II. p. 721; that from Ptolemy in *Wahl's* Asia, p. 498, and that from Moses of Chorene, *ibid.* p. 500.

11. Relation d'un Voyage du Levant. Amsterdam Edit. 1718, 4to. p. 122, 155, 156.

12. *Strabo*, XI. 13, 4, p. 528, Casaubon's Edit. *Charadin*, Voyages, Tom. II. p. 158, Edit. of Langles.

13. על-הרי אררט. Gen. viii. 4.

14. *Hartmann's* Aufklär. über Asien, Vol. I. p. 83. Comp. Das Alte und Neue Morgenland [by Rosenmüller] Vol. I. p. 28.

15. Travels, Vol. I. p. 178.

16. This was likewise Tournefort's first impression. See his Travels, Vol. III.

17. The aspect of the mountain on the south side is thus described by *Morier*, in his second journey through Persia, (p. 312:—) “As we crossed the plain from Abbasabad to Nakhjuwan, we had a most splendid view of Mount Ararat. Nothing can be more beautiful than its shape, more awful than its height. All the surrounding mountains sink into insignificance when compared to it. It is perfect in all its parts; no hard rugged feature, no unnatural prominences, every thing is in harmony, and all combines to render it one of the sublimest objects in nature. Spreading originally from an immense base, the slope towards the summit is easy and gradual, until it reaches the region of snows, when it becomes more abrupt. As a foil to this stupendous work, a smaller hill rises from the same base, near the original mass, similar to it in shape

and proportions, and in any other situation, entitled to rank amongst the highest mountains."

18. "No one since the flood," says the last mentioned writer, (p. 312,) "seems to have been on its summit, for the rapid ascent of its snowy top would appear to render such an attempt impossible.^a Of this we may be certain, that no man in modern times has ascended it, for when such an adventurous and persevering traveller as Tournefort failed, it is not likely that any of the timid superstitious inhabitants of these countries should have succeeded. We were informed that people have reached the top of the small Ararat (or as it is called here, Cuchuk Agri dagh); but as all the account which they brought back was a tale about a frozen man and a cold fountain, we must be permitted to disbelieve every report on the subject which we have hitherto heard from the natives." In another place (p. 344) Morier says: "The impossibility of reaching its extreme summit, even on the side where it is apparently most easy of access, was decided (so we were assured) some years ago, by the Pasha of Bayazid. He departed from that city with a large party of horsemen at the most favourable season, and ascended the mountain on the Bayazid side, as high as he could on horseback. He caused three stations to be marked out on the ascent, where he built huts and collected provisions. The third station was the snow. He had no difficulty in crossing the region of snow, but when he came to the great cap of ice that covers the top of the cone, he could

^a Dr. Parrot and others have since demonstrated its possibility. See the Appendix to this Chapter.—M.

proceed no farther, because several of his men were there seized with violent oppressions of the chest, from the great rarefaction of the air. He had before offered large rewards to any one who should reach the top; but although many Courds, who live at its base, have attempted it, all have been equally unsuccessful. Besides the great rarefaction of the air, his men had to contend with dangers of the falling ice, large pieces of which were constantly detaching themselves from the main body, and rolling down. During the summer, the cap of ice on its summit is seen to shine with a glow quite distinct from snow, and if the old inhabitants may be believed, this great congealed mass has visibly increased since they first knew it."

19. Reineggs (*Descript. of the Caucasus*, Vol. I. p. 27.) says that the frightful chasm of Ararat, can be beheld by none without shuddering. Morier remarks of it: "One of the great features of this mountain is the immense chasm that extends nearly half way down it, and is very visible from Erivan and all its surrounding territory. A large mound of earth, apparently foreign to the original and natural conformation of the mountain, is to be seen in the vicinity of the chasm, in the deepest recess of which is a mass of ice, whose dimensions, according to the natives, may be compared to those of an immense house or tower. It has evidently fallen from a cliff, discernible at a great distance, which impends very considerably over the chasm. The Armenians, who watch the progress of the accumulating ice on this cliff, expect that another mass of equal dimensions to the former, will soon separate itself from the mountain, and be precipitated into the

abyss. Experience has taught them, that this fall takes place after a lapse of twenty years ; and some credit is due to their testimony, for they look upon Ararat as a most sacred spot, and consequently, are frequent and regular in their observations of it. The mass of ice that is now seen in the chasm, has fallen in such a situation, that it only receives the heat of the sun upon its surface for about two hours during the day, which is just sufficient to dissolve so much of it as to produce a fresh congelation, as soon as it is again immersed in shade." Second Journey, p. 345.

20. Descript. of the Caucasus, Vol. I. p. 17.

21. We add some other remarks of *Morier* upon this remarkable mountain, (p. 346.) " The sign of the greatest heat is when the snow has entirely left the summit of Little Ararat. When encamped on the heights of Aberan, we watched its daily diminution, until it completely vanished. At this period the cultivators of melons cut their fruit, and, in general, the snows of Ararat are used by the agriculturists of Erivan as a calendar by which they regulate the sowing, planting, and reaping of their fields. The Eelauts also are guided in their motions by the operations of the weather on this mountain, keeping to their *Yelaks* [*i. e.* summer residences], or descending from them according to the falls of snow. The soil of this great mountain appears to be one immense heap of stones, confusedly thrown together, unenlivened by vegetation. Here and there indeed are a few plants ; but Tournefort's circumstantial relation will shew how scanty are the gleanings of the botanist. In many parts of the Little Ararat are

tracts of a very soft stone, and in others a species of vitrification. Lava is also to be seen, but the soil which most frequently intervenes between the rocks is a deep sand. The wild animals that inhabit this region are bears, small tygers, lynxes, and lions. Perhaps the most dangerous are the serpents, some of which, of a large size, are venomous in the highest degree. They are reputed so fierce as to attack passengers. When we resided in the vicinity of Ararat, a tale was prevalent, that a dragon had got possession of the road which leads between the small and greater mountains to Bayazid; and, like the serpent of Regulus, had impeded the passage of the caravans. This proved to be one of the large snakes. The base of Ararat, on the banks of the Araxes, is girded by extensive swamps, in which are great quantities of wild boars. In these, and on the banks of the rivers, are also immense flocks of wild fowl. On the mountain itself there are many eagles, and a great variety of hawks. Tournefort seems to turn into ridicule (Vol. II. p. 147,) the report of travellers who mention the existence of Anchorites on Mount Ararat; but within the great chasm there is a cave, in part built up, in which it is believed a hermit used to live. The wilds of this mountain give refuge to all the rogues and outlaws of the surrounding country; and there is a cavern between the Great and Little Ararat, in so strong a situation, that not long since, some turbulent Courds, who had taken possession of it, held it in despite of the Serdar and his forces."

SECT. VIII.—SCYTHIA.

When the Apostle Paul, in his Epistle to the Church at Colosse (ch. iii. 11,) says, that Christianity unites in one all nations, Jews and Heathens, learned and unlearned, he thus expresses himself: “There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, slave nor free, but Christ is all and in all.” The name *Scythian* is in Ancient Geography as vague and fluctuating in its meaning as the names Mongols and Tatars in modern times.¹ It is sometimes the name of a single people, but it likewise frequently designates all the nomadic tribes which roam over the tracts to the north of the Black and Caspian Seas, and far into the interior of Eastern Asia. The same uncertainty prevails in the use of the term as the name of a *country*; inasmuch as *Scythia* sometimes denotes the seat of a people called Scythians, but at other times it comprises all the lands which are now held to belong to Mongolia and Tattary. By the “Scythians,” in the above quotation, the Apostle intends the same as “Barbarians,” that is, as Luther has correctly rendered it—*Nicht-Griechen*^a (literally *Not-Greeks*) including all rude, uncivilised nations.²

^a In the Edition of Luther's Version which I possess, (Hamburg 1824, 8vo.) it is *Ungriechen*.—M.

Herodotus relates (I. 103, 104) that in the time of the Median king Cyaxares, (in the second year of the 37th Olympiad, 631 B. C., during the reign of Josias, king of Judah), the Scythians, after they had made themselves masters of Asia Minor, overran Syria and Palestine, and threatened to attack Egypt, but through the entreaties and presents of the king Psammetichus, they were induced to retire. During their retreat, a part of them plundered the temple of Venus at Ascalon. It is conjectured,³ that it was upon the occasion of this inroad of the Scythians into Palestine that the town of Bethshan or Beth-shean,⁴ at the south end of the plain of Esdraelon, received the name of Scythopolis.⁵ It is true that the Hebrew records are silent respecting this Scythian invasion;⁶ but that does not affect the correctness of the narrative of Herodotus, for it was by no means the design of the books of Kings and Chronicles to give a complete history of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

1. "From the time of Homer, *Scythia* was understood to comprehend all the unknown regions of the earth, from north-west to north-east, beginning at the frigid zone, where was placed the scene of the fables of the west, respecting the Cimmerians, the Hyperboreans, the Arimaspi, &c. *Voss* on Virgil's *Georgics*, p. 612, comp. p. 122, 305. Learned re-

searches concerning the Scythians will be found in *Bayer's* Dissertations,—de origine et priscis sedibus Scytharum—de Scythiæ situ, qualis fuit sub aetatem Herodoti—Chronologia Scythica vetus—Memoriae Scythicae ad Alexandrum Magnum—in the Commentarr. Acad. Petropolit; contained also in his Opuscula, edited by Klotz, p. 63. Comp. with these *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans, Vol. IV. p. 12; and C. F. *Cramer's* Scythian Memorials in Palestine, p. 82.

2. Comp. 3 Macc. 7, 5, Νόμου Σκυθῶν ἀγριοτέρη ὠμότης, and also *J. Boemi* Eclogae de barbaris Scytharum moribus in Zorn's Biblioth. antiquar. exeget. p. 761. sqq.

3. Georg. *Syncellus* in Chron. p. 214. *Cramer* in loc. cit. p. 131,

4. בית שאן. Josh. xvii. 11, 16, also בית שן, 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12.

5. Σκυθῶν πόλις, 2 Macc. xii. 29, 30.

6. *Cramer* in the work cited in note 1, (p. 138,) follows Paul *Pezron*, (in his Essai d'un Comment. Litt. et Histor. sur les Douze Prophètes, Paris 1693, 8vo.) in thinking that the inroad of the Scythians into Palestine has been described by the prophets Joel and Zephaniah. But such an exposition is founded upon mere arbitrary assumptions, which are incapable of proof.^a

^a The appendix to this and the following chapters will be found at the end of the volume.

CHAPTER V.

MEDIA.

THAT extensive tract of country which was called by the Hebrews Madai,¹ by the Greeks and Romans, Media, lies on the west and south of the Caspian Sea, running in a northerly direction towards Armenia, and in a southerly towards Farsistan, and comprehends the modern provinces of Shirwan, Azerbijan, Ghilan, Massanderan, and Irak Adjemi. This region, which, in superficial extent, is larger than Spain, is situated between the 35th and 40th degrees of north latitude, and was from the earliest times, one of the largest, most fertile, and most civilized kingdoms of Asia. It was divided into two principal parts, of which the northern was called Atropatene, or *Little Media*; the southern, *Great Media*.² Atropatene corresponds to the Azerbijan³ of the aborigines, from which name the Greek designation appears to have been formed. Azerbijan, which is now, as in ancient times, a Persian province, under its own governor, is on all sides surrounded by the lofty chain of Taurus, except towards the mouth of the Kur. Strabo⁴ calls Atropatene in Media, a fruitful and very

populous country, which could furnish ten thousand horsemen and forty thousand foot. With the exception of the mountains on its borders, Azerbaijan consists of fertile plains and valleys, which are separated by little hills, and are watered by innumerable small rivers and a multitude of lively meandering brooks. These plains and valleys yield all the necessaries, and many of the luxuries of life, in great abundance and excellence. In the days of Chardin, the fields were well cultivated, and upon the rich pastures he saw thousands of fine horses, a circumstance which reminded him of the almost incredible numbers which the Persian kings are said to have reared here.⁵ The flat country was then covered with villages, and Tauris^a was one of the richest, most industrious,

^a By Europeans commonly called *Tabriz*. Morier has given a view of it in his *Second Journey*. The following is Abul-feda's notice of this city: قال في اللباب

وتبريز اشهر بلدة باذربجان والعام تسميها توريز—قال ابن حوقل تقارب خوي في الكبر والعظم قال وكان بها كرسي مملكة بيت هولاكو ثم انتقل بعد ذلك الي المدينة المحدثه التي بناها خربيد لاتي ذكرها—قال ابن سعيد وهي قاعدة اذربجان في عصرنا ومبانيها ملاح بالقاشاني والجيس والكلس وفيها

and populous cities of the east. At the present day, Azerbaijan lies almost as waste as any other province in Persia. Trade and manufactures are nearly annihilated, and most of the towns are in ruins.

Great Media, the modern Irak Adjemi,⁶ or Persian Irak, is a mountainous country,⁷ intersected by grassy and fertile vales, and occasionally diversified by beautiful, well-irrigated and productive plains.⁸ The climate is temperate, and the air pure. The clear azure sky of Persian Irak, or southern Media, is celebrated by all travellers. From May to September, the atmosphere is not obscured by a single cloud. The beauty of this cloudless hemisphere, says

مدارس حسنة ولها غوطة مليحة وكان فيها
من روسايتها من كبرها مع المتتر ولم يجزي
عليها ما جزي علي مراغة وغيرها Dicit in el-Lobābo :

Tibriz celeberrima urbs est Adherbijanæ, quam vulgus Tauriz appellat. Dicit Ibn Haucal : Accedit ad Chowayyam amplitudine et magnitudine ; addit : erat ibi solium regium familiæ Hulākū, quod deinde translatus est ad urbem novam, quam condidit Charbend, de qua mox. Dicit Ibn Sa'īd ; Est metropolis Adherbijanæ nostro tempore, structa pulcherrime lapidibus Cāshānensibus et gypso et calce : habet gymnasia et vallem amoenam. Inter ejus optimates erat aliquis, qui amice norat tractare Tataros, quo factum, ut non eodem loco eam haberint, quo Marāgam, aliasque urbes.—Wüstenfeld's Abulfeda, p. 43.—M.

Chardin,⁹ I can never forget. It is as if the firmament were higher and of another colour than in our misty European climates. The clearness of the sky, and purity of the atmosphere, shed upon nature and its productions, as well as upon the works of art, an indescribable splendour, and tend greatly to the preservation of the latter from decay. During night, the stars emit so brilliant a lustre, that their light is sufficient for many ordinary purposes, and even then, the air is so dry, that the least trace of dew or damp can no where be detected. The heat of summer is moderated by cooling breezes, which spring up at night and continue till the morning. From November to March it is very cold.¹⁰ Much snow falls on the hills, but less in the valleys. It is to be observed, however, that what has now been said of the dryness and purity of the air in southern Media, is by no means true to the same extent of the north-eastern portion, which lies on the Caspian Sea, and was the ancient Hyrcania, the modern Ghilan and Masanderan.¹¹ These two provinces are at once the most fertile and the most unhealthy. They are both bounded to the south by a chain of high mountains, many of which are covered with snow, but their sides are clothed with the finest forests of oak, beech, and other useful trees, and yield excellent vegetables, while the lower grounds are rich in oranges, pomegra-

nates, olives, peaches, apricots, and other fruits. The plains that lie towards the Caspian have a fat loamy soil, which produces rice and all kinds of grain and pulse in the greatest abundance; and at the season of spring, from the vast variety of flowers which adorn the earth, this part of Ghilan and Masanderan presents the appearance of one continued garden or *paradise*, the name generally given to it by the Persians. Yet all these advantages of soil are counterbalanced by an evil of no small magnitude—the seemingly irremediable insalubrity of the climate.¹² The morasses which are formed by the flat banks of the Caspian Sea, the inundations from mountain-torrents, and the irrigation of rice-fields, would be sufficient to vitiate the atmosphere of Ghilan and Masanderan; but these are not the only sources of unhealthiness; it is supposed to be mainly occasioned by the east and north winds, which prevail during the greater part of the year on the southern shores of the Caspian, and come loaded with its vapours, upon which the neighbouring mountains concentrate the rays of the sun, and keep them from being dissipated. These condensed fogs either fall down three times a year, in violent saline showers, or are suspended over the plains in pestilential effluvia. And in the hot season especially, they engender various kinds of

gouty and cutaneous affections, intermittent and putrid fevers, which every year carry off thousands.

The chief town of Media, Ecbatana, or Agbatana, is mentioned in Ezra vi. 2, under the name of Achmeta,¹³ as the city in which were discovered the royal archives¹⁴ of Persia. In the beginning of the apocryphal book of Judith, (ch. i. 2, et seqq.) it is said that the king of Media, Arphaxad, encompassed Ecbatana with a round wall of hewn stones, each being three ells broad, and six ells long. The height of the wall was seventy ells, and the width fifty. Over the gates he placed towers a hundred ells high, their foundation being sixty ells broad. The gates were seventy ells high, and forty ells wide.¹⁵ According to Herodotus,¹⁶ the first Median king Dejoces, built Ecbatana, and surrounded it with seven strong walls, the innermost of which included the royal citadel and treasury. In consequence of the town lying on the declivity of a hill, one battlement rose above another, in the form of an amphitheatre, and the whole had a more striking appearance, from the circumstance that each was painted of a different colour, and the innermost was covered with gold and silver. The circumference of the outer wall is compared by Herodotus to the circuit of Athens, and Diodorus

makes it somewhat greater, for he states it at 240 stadia.¹⁷ The town must subsequently have extended beyond this wall, for Polybius expressly says,¹⁸ that Ecbatana had no walls. The upper part would then consist only of the citadel. Below lay the royal residence, which was seven stadia in circuit, and was adorned with marvellous art and surpassing splendour. The wood work was all of cedar and cypress, and was so well compacted together, that during the long period that elapsed from its erection to the time of Polybius, not one piece had been disjointed. The beams and rafters, and the pillars in the inner halls and outer porches, were all ornamented with gold and silver; the whole roof was covered with silver tiles. Of all this decoration the greater part was carried off at the time of the city's capture by Alexander, and the remainder by Seleucus and Antiochus. Out of the produce of this plunder the Syrians struck their royal coinage, to the amount of nearly four thousand talents. Even in the time of Polybius, the temple of Aene (Anaitis) had gilded pillars, with many silver tiles and various other ornaments. Ecbatana was in later times the seat of the Parthian kings, who, before the conquest of Media, had lived at Hecatompylos. After the extension of their monarchy beyond the Euphrates, Ecbatana, on account of its temperate cli-

mate, continued to be their ordinary summer-residence. The site of the ancient Ecbatana is probably occupied by the modern Hamadan. Ker Porter¹⁹ says : “ The identity of this ancient city’s situation with that of the present Hamadan, seems to be established beyond a doubt ; the plain, the mountain, and the relative position of the place with regard to other noted cities, agreeing in every point. The site also of the modern town, like that of the ancient, is on a gradual ascent, terminating near the foot of the eastern side of the mountain ; but there all trace of its past appearance would cease, were it not for two or three considerable elevations and overgrown irregularities on and near them ; which may have been the walls of the royal fortress, with those of the palaces, temples, and theatres seen no more. I passed one of these heights standing to the south-west, as I entered the city, and observed that it bore many vestiges of having been strongly fortified. The sides and summit are covered with large remnants of ruined walls of a great thickness, and also of towers, the materials of which were sun-dried bricks. It has the name of the Inner Fortress, and certainly holds the most commanding station near the plain. The city stands in latitude $34^{\circ} 53'$, and longitude 40° E. When it lost the name of Ecbatana in that of Hamadan, it seems to have lost all its honours too ; for while it preserved

the old appellation of the capital whence the great kings of the Kaianian race had dictated their decrees, and where Cyrus the king had placed in the house of the rolls of its palace the record wherein was written his order for the rebuilding of Jerusalem, it seems, with the retention of its name, to have preserved some memory of its consequence, even so far into modern times as three centuries after the commencement of the Christian era. It was then that Tiridates attempted to transfer its glories to his own capital, and, according to Ebn Haukel, the gradual progress of six hundred years mouldered away the architectural superiority of the ancient city. Towards the end of the fourteenth century it received its final blow, under the arms of Timour the Tartar, who sacked, pillaged, and destroyed its proudest buildings, ruined the inhabitants, and reduced the whole, from being one of the most extensive cities of the East, to hardly a farsang in length and breadth. In that dismantled and dismembered state, though dwindled down to a mere clay-built suburb of what it was, it possessed iron gates till within these fifty years; when Aga Mahomed Khan, not satisfied with the depth of so great a capital's degradation, ordered every remains of past consequence to be totally destroyed. His commands were obeyed to a tittle. The mud alleys which now occupy the site of ancient streets or squares, are narrow, in-

interrupted by large holes, or hollows in the way, and heaps of the fallen crumbled walls of deserted dwellings. A miserable bazaar or two are passed through in traversing the town; and large lonely spots are met with, marked by broken low mounds over older ruins; with here and there a few poplars and willow trees shadowing the border of a dirty stream, abandoned to the meanest uses, which probably flowed pellucid and admired, when these places were gardens, and the grass-grown heap some stately dwelling of Ecbatana. In one or two spots I observed square platforms, composed of large stones; the faces of many of which were chisselled all over into the finest arabesque fret-work, whilst others had in addition, long inscriptions in the Arabic character. They had evidently been tombstones of the inhabitants, during the caliph rule in Persia. But, when we compare relics of the seventh century with the deep antiquity of the heaped ruins on which they lie, these monumental remains seem but the register of yesterday. For what purpose, or when they were disturbed from their original destination, and arranged in their present order, are subjects of no easy conjecture. The only thing that appears for some years to have kept the place in any degree of notice with the modern Persians, is the manufacture of a superior sort of leather; but the very article of traffic proclaims the low order of popu-

lation to which it has been abandoned. As I passed the wretched hovelled streets, and saw the once lofty city of Astyages shrunk like a shrivelled gourd, the contemplation of such a spectacle called forth more saddening reflections than any that had been awakened in me on any former ground of departed greatness..... At present it does not number more than 9000 houses; one-third of which do not increase the revenue to the crown, 3000 of them being inhabited by persons in the employment of the state, who are therefore not included in the taxation of the town. The population is calculated at between forty and forty-five thousand souls; amongst whom are about six hundred Jewish families, and nearly the same number of Armenians.

“The Jewish part of the inhabitants, with whom I conversed, shook their heads at the history of the Judean tomb on the mountain, but entered, with a solemn interest, into the questions I put to them respecting the sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai; the dome-roof of which rises over the low dun habitations of the poor remnant of Israel, still lingering in the land of their captivity. This tomb is regarded by all the Jews who yet exist in the empire, as a place of particular sanctity; and pilgrimages are still made to it at certain seasons of the year, in the same spirit of holy penitence with which, in former times, they turned their eyes towards Jerusalem.

Being desirous of visiting a place which Christians cannot view without reverence, I sent to request that favour of the priest under whose care it is preserved. He came to me immediately on my message, and seemed pleased with the respect manifested towards the ancient people of his nation, in the manner with which I asked to be admitted to their shrine.....I accompanied the priest through the town, over much ruin and rubbish, to an inclosed piece of ground, rather more elevated than any in its immediate vicinity. In the centre was the Jewish tomb, a square building of brick, of a mosque-like form, with a rather elongated dome at the top. The whole seems in a very decaying state; falling fast to the mouldered condition of some wall-fragments around, which, in former times, had been connected with, and extended the consequence of the sacred enclosure. The door that admitted us into the tomb, is, in the ancient sepulchral fashion of the country, very small; consisting of a single stone of great thickness, and turning on its own pivots from one side. Its key is always in possession of the head of the Jews resident at Hamadan.....The original structure, it is said, was destroyed at the sacking of the place by Timour; and soon after that catastrophe, when the country became a little settled, the present unobtrusive building was raised on the original spot. Certain devout Jews of the city stood to

the expense; and about a hundred and fifty years ago (nearly five hundred after its re-erection) it was fully repaired by a rabbi of the name of Ismael. On passing through the little portal, which we did in an almost doubled position, we entered a small arched chamber, in which are seen the graves of several rabbis; probably one may cover the remains of the pious Ismael; and not unlikely the other may contain the bodies of the first rebuilders after the sacrilegious destruction by Timour. Having "trode lightly by their graves," a second door, of such very confined dimensions, presented itself at the end of this vestibule, [that] we were constrained to enter it on our hands and knees, and then standing up, we found ourselves in a larger chamber, to which appertained the dome. Immediately under its concave stand two sarcophagi, made of a very dark wood, carved with great intricacy of pattern and richness of twisted ornament, with a line of inscription in Hebrew running round the upper ledge of each. Many other inscriptions, in the same language, are cut on the walls; while one of the oldest antiquity, engraved on a slab of white marble, is let into the wall itself. The priest assured me it had been rescued from the ruins of the first edifice at its demolition by the Tartars; and, with the sarcophagi themselves, was preserved on the same consecrated spot."²¹

The city of Rages or Ragæ in Media, is several times mentioned in the apocryphal book of Tobit (ch. iv. 1. 21 ; v. 8 ; ix. 3.) It was the capital of the province of Ragiana or Ragos,²² and is described by ancient writers as the largest of the cities of Media. The whole district was very fertile, but subject to violent and destructive earthquakes. The tradition of the Persians places the era of the foundation of Rages in a very remote antiquity, for it is said to have been built by Husheng, the grandson of Kayomorth, the first king of Persia. Alexander found Ragæ under this name on his first expedition through Media to Parthiene. It appears to have afterwards suffered much from earthquakes ; for Seleucus Nicator was its second builder, and called it *Europos*,²³ probably after the name of his native town, under which appellation it is mentioned by Ptolemy. During the later wars with the Parthians, it was again levelled with the ground, when Arsaces restored it, and called it *Arsacia*. Yet notwithstanding the wishes of Seleucus and Arsaces, the ancient designation of the town survived through succeeding ages. Rai or Rei²⁴ (an abbreviation of the ancient name) became the residence of Mahomedan princes, and again attained such a size, that the Arabian writers of the middle ages speak of it as the largest and most populous city of Asia. During the inroads of the Tartars

in the twelfth century it was wholly destroyed, and its former site is now only indicated by scattered ruins. These lie a little more than five [English] miles south-east of Teheran, extending from the foot of the mountains, and running, in an oblique line, across the plains in the direction of south-west. The surface of the ground, all over this tract, is marked by hollows, mounds, mouldering towers, tombs, and wells. The remains of very strong fortifications are still discernible, which had been built of bricks that had been burnt or dried in the sun.²⁵

Media was one of the first independent kingdoms of ancient times. Ninus, the founder of the Assyrian monarchy, contended with a king of the Medes, whom he conquered, and reduced the country to a province of Assyria. For five hundred and twenty years the Medes bore the Assyrian yoke. But when Tiglath-pilesar and Salmanassar began to depopulate whole countries in Western Asia, carrying off the inhabitants, and settling them in the towns of Media and other parts of Upper Asia, the patience of the Medes was exhausted. They rose in arms; and the defeat of Sennacherib before Jerusalem, his flight and murder, and the consequent disorganization of the Assyrian monarchy, completed their liberation. For six years they were exposed, through internal dissensions and party feuds, to a kind of anarchy; but at length, about

the year B. c. 700, Dejoces, who had acted as a prudent and upright arbitrator among opposing factions, was unanimously elected king. He reigned over Media alone, whose six tribes he united into one nation. But his son and successor Phraortes brought under the Median dominion, first the Persians, and then the whole of Upper Asia, as far as the river Halys, including Cappadocia. He afterwards advanced against the Assyrians, and besieged Nineveh, but there his army was defeated, and he himself slain. His son and successor, Cyaxares, resolved to avenge his father's death on the Assyrians; but, as he was about to resume the siege of Nineveh, the report reached him that the Scythians had invaded Media. He marched to oppose them, but was defeated; and it was not till after a twenty years' struggle that these barbarous foes were expelled from the country. Cyaxares then renewed his attack upon Nineveh, and took it, with the assistance of his ally Nabopalassar, the first king of Babylon, and Assyria now became a Median province. After Cyaxares, this great empire was inherited by his son Astyages, who, five and thirty years after, (about the year B. c. 556,) had to resign it to his grandson Cyrus, king of Persia.²⁶ Then arose the MEDO-PERSIAN KINGDOM. The "laws of the Medes and Persians" are, by the Hebrew writers, always mentioned together;²⁷ in Esther x. 2,

the annals of the kings of Media and Persia are spoken of as one ; and, indeed, from the period in question, the manners, religion, and civilization of the two countries became identified. We gather from the Zend books, that the Medes, Persians, and Bactrians, were originally one race of people,²⁸ who had in common one language, namely, *the Zend*, and one religion, the adoration of Ormuzd, the highest being, under the symbol of fire. The priests of this religion, the Magi, were a Median tribe, and devoted themselves to the cultivation of science, and the exercises of worship. It was from among them that arose, (certainly before the days of Cyrus,²⁹) *Zerdusht*, commonly called Zoroaster, who appeared as a reformer or restorer of the ancient religion, which, in the lapse of time, had become corrupted. Its professors are still found, under the name of Guebers, throughout Persia and India.³⁰

The Medes overthrew the Chaldæo-Babylonian empire, which, being founded on the ruins of various states in Central Asia, had in a short period attained to considerable greatness. Among the lesser kingdoms annihilated by the Chaldeans was the Jewish, a large proportion of whose inhabitants were carried by the conquerors into the provinces of Babylon. When the Medo-Persian power, under Cyrus, was rapidly extending itself

by conquests and alliances, and assuming a threatening aspect towards Chaldea, the captive Jews were led to entertain the hope that the Medes would become (as had been predicted) the instruments of avenging them on their oppressors. The prophet Jeremiah (ch. li. 11,) says :

Sharpen the arrows, seize the shields !!^a
 Jehovah hath roused the spirit of the kings of the MEDES ;
 For against Babylon is his purpose to destroy it.
 The vengeance of Jehovah is this,
 Even the vengeance of his temple.

And again, at verse 28 :

Enlist against her the nations,
 The kings of MEDIA, and the captains thereof,
 And all the rulers thereof,
 And all the land of his dominion.

Another prophet (Isa. xxi. 2,) calls to the Persians and Medes : “Go up (against Babylon) O Elam ! besiege, O Media !” In another part of his prophecy, the Medes are described as rude and barbarous warriors, (ch. xiii. 17, 18.)

Behold ! I will stir up against them the Medes,
 Who value not silver, and care not for gold :
 Their bows shall dash down the young men,
 And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb,—
 Their eye spareth not children.

With this agrees the language of Jeremiah, (chap. l. 42,) when he describes the enemies that

^a The LXX. Vulg. Castalio, and Blayney, understand שִׁטִּים to mean *quivers*. Blayney has, “fill the quivers.”—M.

were to come against Babylon from the north, though without specifying the Medes :

The bow and the spear shall they seize ;
Cruel are they and will shew no mercy.
Their voice shall roar as the sea,
And upon horses shall they ride,
In orderly array, as a man for battle,
Against thee, O daughter of Babylon !

That the Medes and Persians were archers, like the Parthians in after times, is mentioned by other ancient authors. Their bows were, according to Xenophon,³¹ three ells long, the arrows above two ells, and many used them on horseback. Xenophon³² confirms another fact, mentioned in the above quotation from Isaiah, namely, that the Medes so despised silver and gold, that they would not be bribed by the offer of them, to spare the life of a vanquished foe ; for he introduces Cyrus as thus commending his Medes, when addressing the assembled army, “ Ye Medes ! and all who hear me, I know well that it is not from a desire of riches that ye have come out with me to the battle.”

The lands which constituted Media, form now, as in ancient times, part of the Persian monarchy. Each province has its own governor. The governor of Azerbaijan, in the year 1810, was Abbas Mirza,^a a son of the Shah.³³

^a This estimable prince, so deservedly a favourite with all English travellers, predeceased his father, the late Futteli Ali

1. The meaning of the name is unknown. Several conjectures are given by *Wahl*, in his *Asia*, p. 533.

2. *Strabo*, XI. 12. Comp. *Cellarii* Notit. Orb. Antiq. III. 18. *Mannert's* Geography of the Greeks and Romans, B. V. Abth. 2, p. 120.

3. اذربيجان or اذربادگان. *Wahl* says, (loc. cit. p. 538,) that اذر or ازر (in Pehlevi *adur*, in Zend *atro*) signifies *fire*. باد is from *bad* in Pehlevi, (in Zend, *pate* or *petoesl*) and denotes *country, territory, dominion*. گان or جان *gan, jan* is like گاي or گاء *place, land, country*. The whole then would mean *the land of the domain of fire*; since it was here that fire-worship was first introduced, and the country abounds in naphtha-springs more than any other part of Asia. The province, therefore, may have received its name from the fire-temples of which it had been the seat from the remotest antiquity.”^a

Shah, in 1833. But it is one of his sons, Mohammed Mirza who now occupies the throne of Persia, supported by the joint influence of Russia and England.—M.

^a The discrepancy in the way of writing the name of this province—Azerbaijan, Adserbijan, Aderbijan, &c., arises from the circumstance that the letter ز which has in Persian the sound of *z*, is by the Arabs pronounced like *dh*. This is in fact one of the few purely Persian words in which that character occurs, as is remarked by Sir William Jones, (*Persian Grammar* by *Lee*, p. 6,) who agrees with *Wahl* in deriving it from اذر *fire*. A map of this province, drawn from personal

Comp. *Hyde*, Hist. Relig. Veter. Persar. Cap. 29, p. 358 and 424 of the second edition. *Langlès*, in a note to Chardin's Travels, (Tom. ii. p. 308,) thinks the name Azerbaidshan signifies *Fireman*, [fire-watcher or fire-worshipper.] The common notion which has been adopted from *Strabo* (loc. cit.) viz. that Atropatene was so called from Atropates, a Median Governor, who had preserved the province from Macedonian subjection—is the improbable conjecture of one to whom the real name of the country was unknown.

4. Loc. cit. in note 2.

5. Loc. cit. p. 365.

6. *عراق اعجمي* or *عراق العجم*. On the mean-

ing of the name Irak, *Reiske* observes: (Abulfedæ Annal. Moslemm. Tom. I. p. 228, Not. X.) Videtur haec provincia nomen accepisse ab *عرق* *rasit, abra-* observations, will be found in *Morier's* Second Journey; and the latest accounts of it in Colonel Monteith's "Tour through Azerbaijan," in the Journal of the Geographical Society for 1833.

According to Richardson's Dictionary, Wilkins' edition, re-
edited by Johnson, *آذر* *ādar*, or *آز* *āzar*, signifies *fire*, *آذرباد* *Azarbād*, The name of a priest of the magi, *آذربادکن* *Azar-bād-gān*, or *آزربایکن* *Azar-bāy-gān*, The name of a fire-temple in Tabriz, also Tabriz itself. By explaining the word as signifying *the abode of the priest of fire*, if *آذرباد* be a common name, or if it be a proper name, *the mansion of Azarbād*, we avoid the tautology to which Wahl's derivation, *the land of the pomain of fire*, seems exposed.—M.

sit. Nomen in genere notat omnem terram, quam mare aut fluvius alluit et radit, ἀκτὴν, in specie illam quae à sinu Persico, Tigride et Euphrate raditur ; quemadmodum الساحل est in genere quaelibet ripa, in specie litus maris Phoenico-Syriaci. Quod autem *Irak* proprie sit *litus*, patet e Divan Hudeilitarum, ubi ad العراق السيف Scholiastes notat :

العراق السيف : العراق البحر
 Irak-el-Ajem, or Irak-Ajemi, denotes the Persian Irak, (comp. *Wahl* loc. cit. p. 216,) and this province was so designated, in order to distinguish it from العراق العرب the Arabian Irak, or العراق بابل the Babylonian Irak, by which names ancient Babylonia is understood. A high mountain-ridge Koflan-ku, separates Azerbijan from Irak-Ajemi. See Ker Porter's Travels, Vol. I. p. 266.^a The boundaries of this province are given by that traveller thus (p. 306) :

“ Irak-Ajem, is bounded on the north by Azerbijan (which was also part of Media), Ghilan, and

^a The following are Porter's remarks :—“ We gradually approached the foot of the chain of mountains at the head of the valley, which here separate the province of Azerbijan from Irak, once so considerable a part of the famous kingdom of Media. These mountains are called the Koflan-kou. They are of very stupendous altitude ; and are a branch of the sublime range which belongs to Kurdistan. Besides the grandeur of their form, which well accords with the character of a country, whose ancient laws, like these everlasting ramparts, were immoveable ; the varied hue of their rocks gives a magnificence to the view, admirably adapted to the recollections of a man, on entering the more particular dominions of the great Cyrus.”—M.

Mazanderan (ancient Hyrcania); to the south by Farsistan and Kuzistan (ancient Susiana), to the west by Kurdistan, and to the east by Khorasan, and the Salt Desert."

7. Hence it likewise bears the Arabic name الجبال *El-Jebal*, and the Persian کوهستان *Kōhistān*.

According to *Ker Porter* that is properly the name of the very mountainous part of Irak-Ajem, which lies between Hamadan and Kermanshah. *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 287. The mountains that run through Persian Irak, are an arm of the Taurus. Vol. II. p. 87. This quarter of Media is very probably the district of הרה *Hara*, mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 26, where a part of the captive Israelites were located by Tiglath-Pileser. הרה is a translation of the above Arabic and Persian names [q. d. *mountainous* from הר a mountain.] Now along with Hara, mention is made of the river Gosan נהר גוזן, of which Porter says, (Vol. I. p. 267 :)

"A fine river flowed through the beautifully undulating land, (at the base of the Koflan-ku), and a noble bridge of three pointed arches crossed it. This river, which was the Amardus of Ptolemy, and said to have been the Gosan of scripture, owes its present appellation, the Kizzil-ouzan, to its yellow hue, the name being descriptive of such a peculiarity. Its course is very rapid, though in a serpentine direction; and being augmented by several streams, which rise near the town of Banna, in the north-eastern branch of the Kurdistan mountains, it pours majestically along through a vast stretch of hilly country northward, till it enters Ghilan, where, thundering forward, amidst the

most terrific scenery, it discharges itself at last into the Caspian Sea, to the east of Resht." Comp. Morier's Second Journey, p. 208.^a The conjecture that this is the Gozan derives probability from the circumstance, that the districts mentioned before Hara, namely, Chalach and Chabor, are likewise to be sought for in the neighbourhood of Media. *Chalach* is, according to Bochart, (Geogr. § III. 14, p. 220) the Calachene of Ptolemy, in the north of Assyria; and *Chabor* is Mount Chaboras, between Media and Assyria. Between that mountain and the Caspian Sea, there is, says Ptolemy, the district and Town of *Gausania*, i. e. Gosan, with a river of the same name. It is to be recollected, however, that in 2 Kings xix. 12, and Isaiah xxxvii. 12, Gosan is mentioned among the towns or provinces of Mesopotamia, which the Assyrian conqueror boasted of having subdued. But that is perhaps different from the river Gozan mentioned in 1 Chron. v. 26. [See the Appendix.]

^a Morier says:—"We departed very early the next morning, to cross the Kizzil Ozan River, and the Coflan Koh. The latter is a range of mountains, which would be well worthy the notice of a geologist. Its stratifications have been thrown together by some great commotion, into the most extravagant positions. In some places they are perpendicular, in others horizontal." Of the neighbouring tract, he says: "In some places it appears to have been nearly in a state of fusion, as if an immense volume of liquid soil had been set in motion, and its sluggish masses had settled themselves, as the impulse might lead them; in others, as if some powerful engine had broken these masses, and left them in unequal fragments."—M.

8. For example, the plains of Maranda.^a (*Ker Porter*, I. 216), Hamadan, Kasvin, Tabris or Tauris, &c.

9. *Voyages*, Tom. II. p. 280. Edit. of Langlès.

10. *Ker Porter* says : (Vol. I. 246) " One morning, about the middle of the month of December, snow began to fall, accompanied by a tremendous wind from the north-east ; and before evening, the whole country was covered for several feet in depth. When the sky had quite unburdened itself, the weather became settled, and the sun continued to shine with a splendour, only to be seen in countries of such transparent atmosphere, where the brilliancy of the frosty medium gives to the air the dazzling effect of diamonds. This peculiar radiance of the day, with the cold at eight degrees of Reaumur, and the brightness of the night, at twelve, fourteen, and sixteen of the same, was certainly winter drest in its fairest garb ; but owing to the long prevalence of frost, the snow became like dust, and when the wind blew, it was whirled in clouds like the sand of the desert, filling up every path, high road, or hollow, in its way. This inconvenience is redoubled, when the snow already down meets accumulation from above. Hence it is considered great rashness to attempt going any distance from the city, when either the heavens are loaded, or the air turbulent ; for to be caught in any of these snow-storms is almost certain destruction. Many instances have occurred, where not only solitary individuals, but

^a But Maranda, or Marande, instead of being a " fruitful plain," is described by *Porter*, as " barren and dreary."—M.

whole companies and caravans have been overwhelmed and perished. The track being soon covered, and the snow coming on in every direction, from drift, whirlwind, and the falling clouds, every land-mark is obscured, and the lost travellers, exhausted, benumbed, and abandoned to despair, are speedily sunk under the tremendous mass. One of the British officers now residing at Tabreez (1817) during a journey he made to Teheran two winters ago, narrowly escaped a similar fate. Every vestige of road was obliterated, and he, with his attendants, had wandered, and ploughed their way for several hours without a guide from earth or sky ; when, evening drawing on, they gave themselves up for lost. At this juncture they were providentially descried by some peasants from the roofs of their almost buried cabins. With instant despatch, but great labour, these good people cleared a path to the half perished travellers ; and by such prompt humanity rescued them from the most desolate of deaths."..... He adds, that as the Persians continue to wear light clothing, notwithstanding the severity of the season, " scarcely a day passes without one or two persons being found frozen to death in the neighbourhood of the town." In p. 441, he says, " at present (May 21st), no fruits are ripe here ; but cherries and plums are eaten as delicacies in their crude state." When *Della Valle* was at Hamadan, towards the end of January, the ice lay for several days in the streets, and even in his own chamber, where he kept up a good fire, liquids were frozen, the very ink becoming congealed in the glass. Travels, Part II. p. 10, 11, of

the Ger. Transl. Comp. *Olivier*, Voyages, Tom. V. p. 208.

11. مانندران، غيلان.

12. *Chardin*, Tom. III. p. 275. *Gmelin's Trav.* Part III. p. 425.

13. אַחַמְתָּא; the name has probably a similar signification with the Hebrew חֲמַת, *strong*.^a *Ilgen* on Tobit, III. 8, p. 165. Ἀγβάτανα (for which commonly Ἐγβάτανα) seems formed from אַחַמְתָּא, with the addition of the syllable να, and the commutation of the letter m for b. According to *Reland* (*Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers.* in his *Dissertt. Miscell.* Part II. p. 107), the name Ecbatana, is composed of the Persian words آق Lord, and آبادان Abadan, a cultivated and populous place.

14. בית ספריא; literally *the house of the writings*, in Persian دار نوشت Dar-Newisht. This was the name of a part of the palace of the ancient Persian king Gustasp, or else of a separate building, in which he caused to be preserved a copy of the books of Zoroaster, written in letters of gold. See *Ouseley's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 344, 410, 542.

15. These are the statements of the Greek Text. The Vulgate, which Luther has followed, is somewhat different.

^a Hence the name of *Hamath* in Syria, the Epiphania of the Greeks. The radical idea is supposed by Gesenius to be "to surround with a wall, to strengthen." Arab. حما to guard.—M.

16. Book I. cap. 98. Comp. *Diodorus Siculus*, II. 13.

17. Book XVII. 110.

18. Book X. 24.

19. Travels Vol. II. p. 101. Comp. Morier's Second Journey, p. 267. [See the Appendix.]

20. These gates are mentioned by *Ibn Haukal* in his Description of Persian Irak, edited by *Uylenbroek*, p. 5 of the Arab. Text. That the town was, at that period (the tenth century), though still flourishing, yet much reduced from its former greatness, appears from the circumstance, that it was only about one parasang square, and the houses were built of mud. Comp. at p. 49, and 82, of the Arab. Text, or p. 66 and 100, of the translation, the accounts which *Kaswini* and *Ibn Ayias* give of this town.

21. But that this is a false representation, is shewn by the inscription itself, as copied by *Ker Porter*, Vol. II. p. 109. For, excepting a passage from the Book of Esther (ch. viii. 15), and the whole of the sixteenth Psalm, it contains nothing but the information, that two brothers, *Eliah* and *Samuel*, caused this tomb to be restored in the year of the world 4474, that is the year 1713 of the Christian era. Another part of the inscription which follows this, is so incorrectly copied, that no tolerable sense can be made out of it. Still more imperfectly is it exhibited in *Morier's Second Journey*, p. 265. The translation given by *Porter* says a great deal that is not to be found in the Hebrew.

22. 'Pάγας (in *Diodor. Sic. XIX. 44*), seems to have been the aboriginal name of the district. By the Greek geographers the town is called 'Pάγα (τὰ),

26. Herodot. I. 95, 130.

27. Esth. i. 19. Dan. vi. 8, 12. Esth. x. 2, et sæp. On *the seven princes of the Medes and Persians* (Esth. i. 14.) See the present work, Ch. VII. below.

28. *Rhode* on the sacred traditions of the Zend Nations (Ger.) p. 63.

29. Respecting the time when Zoroaster flourished, see the Researches of Heeren, Ideen, &c. B. I. Abth. I. p. 465, and *Rhode* in loc. cit. p. 135, 157.

30. Among the latest accounts of the Guebers is that by Ker Porter, Vol. II. p. 46. [See the Appendix.]

31. Anab. VI. 2, 16. Comp. *Herodot.* I. 61, and Ammianus Marcellinus, V. 1.

32. Cyropæd. V. 1, 10.

33. Morier's Second Journey, p. 240, 256.

come a scene of such desolation, that the footsteps of man are hardly discernible, except where they have left traces of war, and mark his grave."---M:

CHAPTER VI.

ELAM.

ELAM,¹ which is mentioned in Gen. x. 22, as a tribe descended from Shem, the second son of Noah, is in Gen. xiv. 1, introduced along with the kingdom of Sinear (Shinar) or Babylon, and in Isa. xxi. 2, and Jerem. xxv. 25, is connected with Media. The Elamites are described in Esra iv. 9, among the nations of the Persian empire, and according to Dan. viii. 2, Susa lay on the river Ulai, that is the Eulæus or Choaspes, in the province of Elam. These accounts lead to the conclusion that Elam was the same land which was designated by the Greeks and Romans by the very similar name of *Elymais*.² This province formed a part of the ancient Susiana, or the modern Khusistan,³ a name which suggests the ancient Cossæi, who inhabited the northern mountains of Susiana, on the borders of Media.

Susiana or Khusistan, the *Elam* of scripture, is bounded on the east by Persis or Farsistan, on the west by Babylonia or Babylonian Irak,⁴

on the north by Media, and on the south by the Persian Gulf. This province is not unfrequently considered as a part of Persia Proper; but in the division of the provinces, it was regarded as distinct from it, and constituted a peculiar satrapy, which was about half as large as Persis, and not quite so large as England. In the north and east this province is mountainous; in the south, towards the coast, level and marshy. There reigns here, except during the winter months, a burning heat,⁵ as the high mountains on the north and east intercept every cooling breeze, and the country is only open to the parching south and west winds, which blow across the hot sands of the desert. The soil, which is watered by a number of rivers, is exceedingly fertile, and, besides growing much rice, coffee, and sugarcane, produces wheat and barley, which, in the days of Strabo⁶, yielded two hundred fold.⁷

Elam, or Susiana, was inhabited by various tribes of people. *The Elamæi* or *Elymæi*, along with the Kissii, seem to have been the oldest inhabitants, not only of Susiana Proper, but also of Persia; hence, the writers of scripture comprehend under the name of Elam the country of the Persians generally. The *Elymæi* dwelt partly in the north, partly in the south of Susiana. In the latter, which is fertile, the inhabitants followed agriculture. In the north, which is mountainous, almost every man was a soldier and a

robber. As the Elymæi occupied the greater part of the country, they were able to bring into the field a considerable body of troops, who were mostly archers.⁸ In the high and rugged mountains which separate Susiana from Persis dwelt the *Uxii*,⁹ a barbarous and plundering tribe, who exacted tribute even of the Persian monarchs when they travelled from Susa into Persis. The *Cossæi*¹⁰ occupied the northern mountains of Susiana, on the borders of Media, and were, like the *Uxii*, a rude and uncultivated race, who despised all refinement of manners as effeminacy, and, though occupying a small and barren territory, yet sent into the field three thousand archers. It was in that capacity that all these tribes were chiefly celebrated, for in the description (in Isa. xxii. 6) of a hostile army that was to go forth against Jerusalem, it is said :

“ Elam bears the quiver,
And comes with chariots, footmen, and riders.”

When Jeremiah (ch. xlix. 34, *et seqq.*) threatens this people with conquest and subjugation, he begins with these words :

“ Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts !
Behold ! I break the bow of Elam,
The chief instrument of his might.”^a

In the centre of Susiana dwelt the tribe of the

^a The Eng. Vers. has “ the chief of their might.” Blayney
“ the principal part of their strength.”—M.

Kissii, from whom this province obtained the name of Kissia.¹¹ Here lay, on the east bank of the river Choaspes (now the Kerrah) Susa, the Shushan¹² of scripture, the capital of the whole country, and the ordinary residence of the Persian kings, who fixed their seat here, in order to be nearer the mighty Babylon.¹³ The city was, according to Strabo,¹⁴ one hundred and twenty stadia in circuit; according to Polycleetus,¹⁵ it was two hundred, but without walls.¹⁶ Yet the royal castle was doubtless fortified, for it served as a citadel.¹⁷ Here were to be seen all those sumptuous edifices and other establishments demanded by the luxury of the Persian monarchs,—palaces, courts, and parks of vast extent.¹⁸ To these allusion is made in Esth. i. 5, where it is said that Ahashverosh (Ahasuerus) gave to all who were in his palace at Shushan, a feast for seven days in the “court of the garden of the king’s palace.”¹⁹ Alexander the Great found treasures in the chief town of every province of Persia, but here were preserved the private accumulated riches of the monarch. Though Alexander took away fifty thousand talents from these treasures, and divided them among his warriors,²⁰ yet Antigonos found nearly five-and-twenty thousand remaining.²¹ Of all the former greatness of this city, the only remains now are scattered ruins and heaps of rubbish, which extend from nine [English] miles west of the town of Desphoul for

about twelve or thirteen miles along the east bank of the river Kerrah, the Choaspes or Ulai²² of the ancients.²³ They consist chiefly of ruinous piles of bricks, which had been made of mud and dried in the sun, like those of Babylon; for this is the only building material found in the neighbourhood of either city.²⁴ There is nothing among those relics particularly deserving of notice, except a few blocks covered with hieroglyphics,²⁵ and (about two miles from the river) two pyramidal mounds, the one in circumference a mile, the other nearly two. The inhabitants of the country distinguish them by the names of *the Castle* and *the Palace*. At the foot of the larger mound there stands a small building with a cupola, in which travellers are shewn the tomb of the prophet Daniel. That he lived in Susa, and there enjoyed prophetic visions, is expressly mentioned in the book which bears his name, ch. viii. 2. The place where he died is not indeed specified in the Bible; yet the tradition, preserved among the Jews and Arabs, that he was buried in Susa, may, nevertheless, be well founded.²⁶

Respecting the early history of Elam, or Susiana, the extant Greek and Roman writers are silent. From the intimations given in the Old Testament, we are led to conclude, that it was once an independent state, with its own kings; for, so early as the time of Abraham, (Gen. xiv.

1,) we find mention made of a king of Elam, Chedorlaomer, who had extended his conquests to the west across the Euphrates, as far as the Jordan and the Dead Sea. Certain petty princes in the valley of Siddim (whose place is now occupied by the Dead Sea,) had been for twelve years tributary vassals of this king of Elam, but at length resolved to throw off the yoke. Whereupon he allied himself with three other kings, and, marching against them, was at first successful; but upon Abraham advancing to their succour, the four kings were defeated and driven out of the country. Among the mighty and victorious nations who had been the terror of the world, but were “to go down with the uncircumcised into the pit,” Ezekiel (ch. xxxii. 24,) mentions Elam. At the same period, namely, the commencement of the reign of Zedekiah, the last Jewish king, about the year B. C. 590, Jeremiah, in denouncing judgments against other Asiatic states, directs a prediction against Elam, (ch. xlix. 34, et seqq.) threatening it with conquest and destruction by the Chaldeans (comp. v. 30); and it is probable that Nebuchadnezzar, after he had subdued Western Asia, added Elam also to his possessions, and incorporated it with his empire. Hence we find the prophet Daniel, (ch. viii. 1, 2.) under the reign of Belshazzar, Nebuchadnezzar’s successor, residing in Susa, the capital of Elam, a province then subject to that mo-

narch. But when the Chaldaeo-Babylonian empire was soon after overthrown by the Medes, Elam came, along with the other countries which composed it, under the Median dominion ; and hence, in Isa. xxi. 2, and Jer. xxv. 25, Elam and Media are mentioned together.

In the first book of Maccabees, (ch. vi. 1, 2,) it is said that Antiochus Epiphanes, having heard that there was a rich temple at Elymais, a city of Persia, went to attack and plunder it ; but that he was repulsed by the inhabitants. The city of Elymais, or Elam, we should naturally look for in the province of the same name ; but neither Greek nor Roman writers make any mention of it.²⁷ Various attempts have been made to reconcile the discrepancy ;²⁸ but as no precise knowledge of distant countries could well be expected in a Jew of those times, it is not unlikely that the writer, by a geographical error, mistook a Persian province for a town.²⁹ The second book of Maccabees, which is entitled to little credit, mentions (ch. ix. 2,) instead of Elymais, Persepolis, although that city had been destroyed by Alexander the Great long before the time of Antiochus. Polybius,³⁰ on the other hand, agrees more with the first book of Maccabees ; only he does not mention any city of Elymais, but says, that Antiochus Epiphanes undertook an expedition to Elymais, in order that he might enrich himself with the treasures of the

temple of Diana, but was prevented by the inhabitants of the country. Appian³¹ speaks of a temple of Venus in Elymais, which Antiochus had endeavoured to plunder. Finally, Strabo³² and Diodorus Siculus,³³ relate that Antiochus the Great, the father of Antiochus Epiphanes, sought to pillage the temple of Bel in Elymais, but was slain by the barbarians. All these appear to be different versions of the same story, namely, that an unsuccessful attempt had been made by a king Antiochus, to plunder a temple in Elymais or Elam.

1. עִילָם. *Wahl* (Asien, p. 603,) conjectures, that the name comes from the Pehlevi word *Halæh* or *Halæm*, which signifies *pure, clear*, and was designed to betoken the fair and serene sky of the country. According to an ancient belief, the Persians sprang from the Elamites. It is noticed by *Josephus*, *Antiq.* I. 6, 4, "Ελυμος μὲν γὰρ Ἑλυμαίους, Περσῶν ὄντας ἀρχηγέτας, κατέλειπεν. The Syrian lexicographer, *Bar-Bahlul*, likewise says, in a passage quoted by *Hyde*, (*Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers.*, p. 423 of the second edit.), that the Persians were descended from Elam, the son of Seth. Yet this tradition does not authorise us to say with *Hyde* (p. 422,) that the most ancient biblical name of Persia is *Elam*. The conjecture of *Tychsen* (de Cuneatis Inscriptt. Persepolit. p. 10, 13) that עִילָם *Elam* is the same as ایران *Iran*, is too fanciful. That the Elamites and the Persians were originally one people is often asserted, but has never

yet been proved. The difference of their languages renders it very improbable. It is correctly remarked by Schulthess (*Das Paradies*, p. 285): "The Persian dialects, which prevail as far as the Indus, are so different from the Shemitic, that we cannot well class the Persians among Shemite nations. When, therefore, it is said in the Bible, that Elam was a descendant of Shem, we are not to understand the territory, so called, to extend on the east and north beyond Susiana, which had the mountains of Luristan for its northern boundary, while on the south, as far as the sea coast, a branch of these mountains divided it from Persis." But when the learned author goes on to say, that the descent of the Elamites from Shem is confirmed by the accounts of later eastern writers, quoted by Assemani, (*Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 758,) and bearing, "that the common language in Susiana is the Syriac," he appears to have been misled by *Mannert*, who, in his *Geography of the Greeks and Romans*, P. V. Abth. 2, p. 469, makes the same reference. Yet neither in that part of Assemani's work, nor in the article Elam or Susiana, is there any such assertion.

2. See *Cellarii* Notit. Orbis Antiq. P. II. Lib. III. Cap. 19, p. 686. *Assemani*, loc. cit. p. 419. *Mannert*, loc. cit. p. 468.

3. خوزستان, *Khuzistan*: also, خورستان *Khuzistan*. Both modes of spelling are given by Abulfeda. See *Michaelis* Spicil. Geogr. Hebr. Exter. P. II. p. 68. *Wahl* (*Asien*, p. 598) holds them both to be correct, as Moses of Chorene (*Geogr.* p. 36) had

done before him ; and it would appear that *Khuristan* is the general name of the whole country, but *Khuzistan* was originally only the special name of the chief province. The name *Khuristan*, formed out of *Khor* or *Chor*, which in ancient Persian signifies *light, the sun*,^a (thence *clear, pure*,) and *Stan*, a place or country, describes the climate of the province which is blessed with a clear sky and a pure and salubrious atmosphere ; while *Khuzistan* or *Husistan*, denotes that part of the country which was inhabited by the Uxii, called by Syrian writers *Husoye*, ܠܚܝܝܐ. In Gen. xiv. 1 Saadias puts for עֵילָם Elam, the name خورستان *Khuristan*.

4. From that province it is separated by the Hamreen Hills. *Wahl's Asia*, p. 830. [Respecting these *Ker Porter* says :] “ The rocky ground we had just left is part of a long ridge of high uneven country, called the Hamreen Hills, which stretches eastward towards Kuzistan, the Susiana of Cyrus, and the dominion of his friends the celebrated Abradates and Panthea. These hills are the last considerable heights we had to pass, before we should behold the vast and almost uninterrupted level of that part of ancient Babylonia which lies north of the Tigris.” Vol. II. p. 236. And again, at p. 430, “ Soon after quitting our inhospitable quarters (at Adna Koyi) this morning, we began to ascend the Hamreen Hills, the great natural wall of the Chaldean plains. For the first hour of our ascent, our passage was over a succes-

^a Hence too, the Persian name of Cyrus, *Khorshīd*, i. e. sunny-splendour.—M.

sion of rocky ledges, divided by long tracks of cultivated soil, or similar intervals of sand or gravel, all bearing marks of the force of waters, which gush over them in the seasons of thaw. On gaining the highest point, an extensive view broke upon us, shewing the serpentine windings of the Diala to the southward, and the distant level of the Chaldean plain, alternately tracked with water, or date groves, as far as the eye could reach. Northward lay the devious branches of the hills we were upon; and the snow-clad mountains of Courdistan mingled with the clouds."

5. See *Strabo*, XV. 3. 10, p. 731. Casaubon's Edit.

6. *Ibid.* § 11.

7. *Otter's Voy. en Perse*. Tom. II. p. 49.

8. *Strabo*, XV. 3. 12, p. 732.

9. *Ibid.* § 2 and 6, p. 728, 729. *Plinii Hist. Nat.* VI. 27. *Assemani Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II., p. 758. See above, Note 3.

10. *Strabo*, XI. 12. 6, p. 524.

11. *Ibid.* XV. 3. 2, p. 728. *Herodot.* V. 49.

12. שושן. Dan. viii. 2. Neh. i. 1. Esth. i. 2, 5, et sæp. The Hebrew word, like the Persian سوسان or سوسام, signifies a *lily*. That the town received its name from the lilies that abound in the neighbourhood, or from its pleasant situation generally, has been remarked by *Athenæus*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*, as cited by *Bochart* in his *Geog. Sac.* P. II., or *Canaan*, II. 14, p. 833. According to *Kinneir* (*Memoir on the Persian Empire*, p. 98,) *Shus* in *Pehlevi* signifies "pleasant." *Susa* was built, according to

some, by Cyrus, according to others, by Darius the son of Hystaspes (Plinii Hist. Nat. VI. 27) ; and from the time of Darius it appears to have been the ordinary residence of the Persian monarchs. Tradition placed its origin in much earlier times, having ascribed its foundation to an ancient hero, Memnon, whence also it received the name of Memnonium. *Herodot.* V. 53, 54. *Strabo*, XV. 3. 2, p. 727. A great deal has been collected out of ancient writers respecting Susa by *Brisson*, de Reg. Persarum Principatu, I. 68.

13. *Strabo*, *ibid.* § 2, p. 727. According to *Xenophon* (Cyrop. VIII. 6. 22), Cyrus was in the habit of spending the three spring months at Susa. *Athenæus* (Book XII. p. 513), says the kings of Persia had their residence at Susa in winter, and in summer at Ecbatana, which was farther north.

14. *Ibid.* § 2, p. 728.

15. In *Strabo*, *loc. cit.*

16. See Mannert's Geog. of the Greeks and Romans, Part V. Abth. 2, p. 483.

17. *Mannert*, *loc. cit.*

18. See Stephen of Byzantium, under Σοῦσα.

19. Esth. i. 5. בַּחֲצַר גִּנַּת בֵּיתֵן הַמֶּלֶךְ.

20. *Diodor. Siculus*, XVII. 65.

21. *Ibid.* XIX. 48.

22. As to the river upon which Susa lay, the accounts of the ancients are different. *Arrian* (Exped. of Alex. VII. 7), and *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. VI. 31), place Susa on the river Eulæus, which name is not different from the Ulai, אֻלַּי, the river upon which, according to Dan viii. 2, Susa was situated. On the other hand,

Herodotus (V. 49), *Strabo* (XV. 3. 4, p. 728), and others, place the city on the river Choaspes. *Ker Porter* (Travels, Vol. II. p. 412) finds the Choaspes in the river which is now called the Kerrah; and the Eulæus or Ulai in the river Desphoul or Abzal. But it appears from the researches of *Wahl* (Asia, p. 736), and *Hoeck* (Vet. Med. et Pers. Monumenta, p. 93), that Choaspes and Eulæus, are different names of one and the same river, the modern Kerrah, on the eastern bank of which the ruins of Susa are found.

Wahl explains Choaspes by *كوه اسب* *Koh-asp* i. e. mountain-strength, which was a designation common to mountain streams, and was specially given to those of Khusistan, which come down from the chain of Lur. Eulæus and Ulai he explains from the Pehlevi words *Av Halaèh*, i. e. pure, clear, excellent water.

23. Some erroneously assign to Susa the site of the modern town of Toster or Shuster. See *Hoeck*, loc. cit. p. 96.

24. The ruins of Susa have been described from ocular inspection by *Kinneir* in his *Memoir*, p. 99, and by *Ker Porter* in his *Trav.* Vol. II. p. 411. Comp. *Hoeck*, loc. cit., p. 95.

25. See *Kinneir*, p. 100. *Ker Porter*, p. 414, 415.

26. Comp. *Huet's Demonst. Evang.*, p. 467. Leipzig Edit. *Josephus*, (Antiq. X. 11. 4) speaks of a celebrated building at Ecbatana, which was constructed by Daniel with so much art, that even in his days it appeared as beautiful as if it had been recently

erected. In this building the Persian and Parthian kings were buried; and, in compliance with the wishes of the founder, the situation of governor was always given to a Jew. But instead of Ecbatana in that passage, we ought, no doubt, to read Susa. For Jerome, in his Comment. on Dan. viii. 2, quoting the very words of Josephus, calls the town Susa, and so he must have read in his copy of Josephus. The latter gives to the erection the name of *βάσις*, which word is evidently the same as *בירה*, the term always used of the palace or castle of Susa, Dan. viii. 2. Neh. i. 1. Esth. i. 2; ii. 3, 8; iii. 15. That Daniel was royal governor in Susa seems intimated in Dan. viii. 27, where it is said “he attended to the king’s business.” [See the Appendix.]

27. See *Cellarii Orb. Antiq. Not. Tom. II. Lib. III. 19, 3, 29, p. 689.*

28 *Fröhlich* in the Prolegom. to his Annal. Syr. p. 33, thinks that by Elymais is to be understood Persepolis, which [as is mentioned in the text] was the notion of the author of the second book of Maccabees in ch. ix. 2: Recte uterque sacer historicus urbis nomen adscripsit, Hebraicum alter, alter Graecum. Autor libri. I. Hebraeos sequi solitus, qui et Hebraice historiam suam conscripsit, Hebraico nomine usus est. Siquidem *Elam* Hebraice, *Elama* Syriace Persidem aut Persidis partem significat. Ex *Elama Elamais* seu *Elymais* formatum est, quod Persicam urbem aequè *ἀντονομαστικῶς* significat, atque Graecum *Περσέπολις* Persiae urbem, et si τὸ *urbs* non sit expresse adjectum. Graeco autem vocabulo libri II. scriptor usus, quem Graecorum et annum et

linguam sibi familiares habuisse constat. But this has been sufficiently refuted by Gottl. *Wernsdorff* in his *Comment. de Fide Histor. Libror. Maccabæor*, p. 59, et seqq. J. D. *Michaelis* in the Notes to his *Ger. Transl. of the First Book of Maccabees*, p. 123, conjectures that in the Hebrew original the words may have been מדינה בפרם עילם and as מדינה may denote a town as well as a province, the Greek translator put Ἐλυμαίς ἐν τῇ Περγασίδι πόλιν. *Michaelis*, however, is of opinion, that the temple which Antiochus would have plundered, was really in a city called Elymais, and that the silence of Greek and Roman writers respecting such a place does not disprove its existence.

29. If, according to what is advanced in the text, there never was such a city as Elymais, the conjecture of *Ker Porter* (*Travels*, II. p. 432), falls to the ground, that it stood where are the ruins of Kangovar or Con-cobar, between Hamadan and Kermanshah.

30. In a fragment of his 31st Book, de Vertutibus et Vitiis, p. 1453. Edit. of Gronovius. *Josephus* (*Ant.* XII. 9, 1), closely follows the first Book of Maccabees.

31. Syriac, p. 131.

32. XVI. l. 18, p. 744.

33. XIX. Tom. II. p. 573, 575. Wesseling's Edit.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSIA.

THE land, whence issued the conquerors who once ruled over the countries and people of Asia from Indus to the Mediterranean, and from the Black Sea to the Indian Ocean, is FARS or Farsistan,¹ in the Bible Paras,² and by the Greeks and Romans called Persis.³ It still lies within the boundaries which we find assigned to it by the ancients. On the east it adjoins Ker-man or Karamania; on the north Mount Aprassia, the Parachoathras of antiquity, separates it from Irak-Adjem, or southern Media; on the south it is bounded by Laristan and the Persian Gulf; and on the west it is divided by the Bakh-tiari Mountains from Khuzistan. The country included within these limits is, according to Chardin's estimate,⁴ as large as France. That a tract of such extent should be of very different climates and capabilities, in different places, is naturally to be expected. The southern part, or the coast lying on the Gulf which takes its name from the country, is a sandy plain, which the heat and drought of the climate, and the pes-

tilential winds that blow across the deserts of Kerman, render almost uninhabitable. But, at some distance from the coast, the ground rises, and the interior of the country towards the north is everywhere intersected by high mountains, whose tops are for six or eight months of the year covered with snow. The natural heat of the climate is thereby moderated; and the middle part of Faristan consists of the most fruitful valleys and plains. In the plain of Merdasht or Persepolis, which is eighteen or nineteen leagues in length, and from three to six in breadth, there reigns a perpetual spring. It nourishes the finest horses and cattle in Persia, and the fruits which it produces are excelled only by those of the valley of Shiraz.⁵ This last is eight leagues long, and from four to five broad. No where are fatter sheep reared than here, and the pomegranates, grapes, and wines of Shiraz, are the best in all Persia. Both districts are watered by countless springs and rivulets. Along with the most luxuriant fertility of soil and the most excellent natural productions, the vale of Shiraz combines the greatest salubrity of climate.⁶ Notwithstanding the great abundance of running water, there falls round Shiraz in summer as little dew as in the country of Ispahan; and even at the other seasons of the year, when a polished blade is exposed to the nightly dews, the steel does not in the least become rusted. In the northern

part of Farsistan, the mountains, which are a branch of the chain of Taurus, are higher and more rugged; and though they comprise several fertile vallies, yet, being on the whole ill adapted for tillage, they are generally fit only for the residence of nomadic shepherds. The soil here is very arid and barren;⁷ and the climate withal so ungenial, that the mountains are seen clothed with snow even in the hottest seasons. This mountain territory was the original seat of the conquerors and rulers of Asia. Rendered hardy by the severity of their climate, they found it comparatively easy to subdue the effeminate people of the plains; but the dominion of the Persians over so many rich and luxurious nations had the usual consequence, that they themselves became at length sunk in the same degeneracy.

In the south-east part of Persia, beyond the naked plains, and within the principal pass of the mountains that run along the Persian Gulf, was the great national sanctuary, the seat of the palaces and tombs of the ancient Persian kings, at *Pasargadæ* and *Persepolis*,—the ruins of which are still contemplated with admiring astonishment. In the beautiful valley, watered by the river Kyros,^a (the modern Bend-Emir,⁸) and now

^a Or Cyrus. In Persian, it is the *Kour-ab*, and it is also called “the Araxes;” but it is not to be confounded with the more northerly rivers of the same names.—M.

called Marvdasht or Mardasht,⁹ rose the palace and tomb of Cyrus,¹⁰ at Pasargadæ or Persagadæ, on the spot where, having been chosen leader of the Persian tribes, he conquered the Medes under Astyages, and thereby laid the foundation of his dominion over Western Asia. In memorial of this victory he founded Pasargadæ, which he made the seat of his court, and the store-house of his treasures, and which, as Plutarch informs us, became the place of the coronation of the kings of Persia, where the newly elected sovereign was consecrated by the Magi.¹¹ There also Cyrus built a tomb, which Arrian¹² thus describes, from the account of Aristobulus, who had visited the spot, “ At Pasargadæ there is in the royal paradise the tomb of Cyrus. A grove of various trees has been planted round about; it is abundantly supplied with water; and the fields are covered with high grass. The tomb below is of a quadrangular shape, built of freestone; above there is a house of stone, with a roof. The door which leads into it is so very narrow, that a man, not very tall, can with difficulty get into it. Within the room is a golden coffin, near which there is a seat with feet of gold, and the whole is hung round with purple cloth, and Babylonish tapestry. The other draperies are also of fine Babylonish and Median work, richly dyed in violet, purple, and other colours; and there are,

moreover, chains, scimitars, and ear-rings of gold, set with precious stones. In the neighbourhood a small house was built for the magian, to whom, from father to son, the custody of the tomb was entrusted from the days of Cambyses. The king gave them daily a sheep, a measure of corn and wine, and once a month a horse, as an offering to Cyrus." Darius Hystaspes seems to have extended the plan of Pasargadæ^a towards the south-east, as far as the river which flows from the mountain now called Rachmet; and these later and more ancient sites and monuments were together called by the Greeks PERSEPOLIS.¹³ Here were the tombs of the successors of Cyrus, hewn out in a marble rock, and surrounded with palaces and colonnades.¹⁴ "On the east side of the citadel, says Diodorus Siculus,¹⁵ four hundred feet distant, is the *King's hill* (or royal mountain,) in which are the tombs of the kings. The rock is there excavated, and contains several chambers. There is however no easy access to them, for the coffins are drawn up the rock and placed in the cavities by means of machinery, and no other way of ascending to them exists." Ctesias¹⁶ says still more expressly, that Darius, the son of

^b By thus placing Pasargadæ in the neighbourhood of Persepolis, Rosenmüller rejects the idea of Morier and others, that it was at Mourg-aub, and consequently he does not, with these writers, identify the building called "the tomb of Solomon's mother," with the tomb of Cyrus. See the Appendix.—M.

Hystaspes, the same who confirmed the permission given to the Jews by Cyrus to rebuild their temple, had caused a sepulchre to be prepared for himself while he yet lived, in the double mountain ; but when it was completed, the Chaldean soothsayers forbade him to enter it during his life under a penalty of some terrible danger. Darius was intimidated, but some princes of his family could not resist a strong curiosity which impelled them to view its interior. They went up to the mountain, and, by their desire, were to be drawn up by the priests, who officiated there; but in the act, while they yet hung between earth and air, the sudden appearance of some serpents on the rock so terrified the people above that they let go the ropes, and the princes were dashed to pieces." There are still seen on the side of the mountain several splendid façades of tombs, very like to each other ; and the situation and appearance so completely agree with the descriptions of Diodorus and Ctesias, that it can scarcely be doubted that one of them is the tomb of Darius. " After scrambling, says Chardin,¹⁷ with great difficulty from the foot of the hill (which is six hundred paces from the pillars) up to the rock, where there is no pathway, we came to two monuments, which appear to me the most extraordinary and magnificent relics of antiquity in the place. They are four hundred paces apart from each other, at an equal

distance from the top and bottom of the hill, and consist of two tombs, excavated in the rock with wonderful art, considering its extreme precipitancy." The tradition of the country marks out the one towards the east as the tomb of Darius.¹⁸ The whole, which is seventy-two feet broad, and upwards of a hundred and thirteen high, forms the façade of a building of two stories, the lowermost of which has a false door between two pillars, while the upper consists of sculptured representations and other ornaments. In the uppermost compartment there is the figure of a venerable old man, with a strung bow in his hand, who stands before an altar upon which fire is burning. High above the altar there is a globe; and over the human figure there is another very similar, except that instead of a bow he holds a ring, and only the upper part of him is visible.^{a 19} This representation, according to the acute and probable conjecture of Heeren,²⁰ exhibits the king *as a follower of Zoroaster, and worshipper of Ormuzd*. The figure standing before the altar is the king known by the *bow* in his hand, with which the Persian monarchs were usually delineated, inasmuch as it was the symbol of skill and bravery

^a These accounts from Chardin and Le Bruyn being now obsolete, and in various respects incorrect, I have given in the Appendix the more recent and accurate description by Sir R. K. Porter, who examined the interior of one of the tombs by the same method as the unfortunate kinsmen of Darius, but with a less fatal result —M.

in war as well as in the chase. Upon the *altar* burns the *sacred fire*, the emblem of the primordial element, the creative energy of the God-head, whose principal servant the king was. He was bound to testify daily his adoration of it, and when he died, it was put out. The *globe* which floats above the altar is the *sun*, which, under the name of *Mithra*, was worshipped by the Persians, especially at its rising, with their faces towards it. The winged half-figure above the image of the king is his *Feruer*. This name denotes in the Zend books the originals, or first elements of the formal substance of every being. In their essential nature they are made of light, and as the primitive, moulding and energizing principles, though their outward forms perish, they themselves continue indestructible.²¹ Hence *the ring*, as the symbol of *endless duration*.^a

The Persians were originally a nomadic mountain race, inhabitants of a rugged and poor country, and strangers to the wants of civilized and social life, as refined by the influence of science and art.²² Like all extensive pastoral tribes, they were divided into many different septs, of

^a The *Feruer*, (otherwise written *Ferwer*, *Feroher*,) is thus a kind of spiritual prototype of the man; and yet it is supposed to constitute only a part of the human soul, being merely the principle of sensation. For besides this, there are, according to the Zend creed, four other principles, viz. the *Boe* or intelligence; the *Rouh* or practical judgment, imagination, volition; the *Akho* or conscience, and the *Jan*, or animal life.—M.

which Herodotus (I. 125,) expressly mentions ten. Three of these, among whom the Pasargadæ were the principal, constituted the nobility; three others followed the practice of agriculture; the remaining four were wandering shepherds, but, in the event of war, they joined their countrymen, forming themselves into troops of cavalry. The noblest family of the noblest race, was the Achæmenides.²³ From among them were chosen the heads and leaders of the nation. Subdued by Phraortes, king of the Medes, the Persians were under the Median dominion for about fifty years. But, in the year B. C. 555, or 560, one of the Achæmenides, called *Agradad*,²⁴ the son of the tributary king of Persis, Cambyses, and the Median princess Mandane, was chosen leader of the Persian tribes, and at their head made war against his maternal grandfather Astyages, who, when he was an infant, had sought to cut him off.^{a25} After two success-

^a The classical reader will perceive, that in this sketch of the early history of Persia, the author prefers the authority of Herodotus to that of Xenophon; though by some, the narrative of the latter, with all its fictions, is thought, in several important particulars, more accordant with the accounts of scripture. Our accomplished countryman Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, ingeniously endeavours to identify the Cyrus of Herodotus with the Kei Khosroo of the شاه نامه *Shah Nameh*, (i. e. the History of Kings,) the great epic of the Persian poet Ferdousi. See Note 31, to the present chapter.—M.

ful battles, in the last of which he took his grandfather prisoner, he became lord of the Median empire, and exchanged his original name for *Khorshīd*, i. e. “splendour of the sun”^{a26} which the Hebrews abridged to *Koresh*,²⁷ the Greeks to *Kuros*, and the Romans to *Cyrus*. Under him the Persians became not only an independent but a conquering people; for the dethronement of King Astyages involved Cyrus in wars, which issued in the subjection of the Lydian and Babylonian empires. Crœsus was king of Lydia when Cyrus mounted the Median throne. Partly as a relative of the deposed and captive monarch, partly as a neighbour of the new Medo-Persian king, (for Crœsus had subdued Asia Minor, as far as the river Halys,) he saw with dissatisfaction the Median empire in the power of a Persian, and resolved to attempt his overthrow. In order to carry his scheme the more successfully into effect, he strengthened himself by alliances with Labynit or Nabonned, king of Babylon, and with the Lacedæmonians, who were then the most considerable and warlike people of Greece. The view of this powerful confederacy, and the prospect of the wars in which it would involve him, induced Cyrus to commit the government of the Median empire

^a See the foot-note from *Abulfeda* at p. 249.—M.

to his mother's brother, Cyaxares (the Second), who, in Dan. vi. 1, is styled Darius the Mede.²⁸ By seeming to share the crown with him, Cyrus was enabled to devote all his energies to the prosecution of foreign wars, without having any thing to dread on the part of his Median subjects. Crœsus, relying on the apparently favourable responses of oracles, and the expected aid of his allies, commenced hostilities ; he crossed the Halys with a considerable army, laid waste Capadocia, and upon Cyrus coming up in large force to oppose him, the two armies met, and fought a bloody, but indecisive battle. As Cyrus on the following day shewed no disposition to renew the contest, Crœsus retreated towards Sardis, in the hope of being able, early in spring, to attack his enemy with an army reinforced by a numerous body of confederates. But Cyrus pursued him forthwith, overtook him in the neighbourhood of his own capital, Sardis, and compelled him to take refuge within its walls. In vain did Crœsus expect to hold out till the arrival of his allies ; the city was soon stormed, and the monarch, with his kingdom, fell into the hands of Cyrus, in the year B. C. 557. After this, the conqueror dispatched his generals Mazares and Harpagus, native Medes, to subdue Lower Asia, and especially the Greeks of that region, while he himself moved towards Upper Asia, where, according to the expression of He-

rodotus,²⁹ he overcame one people after another, without passing one by. After he had brought Babylon also under his dominion, (B. c. 538) Cyaxares II. fixed his seat there, and, until the third year after its capture (when he died), was considered king of Babylon, as he had been of Media, while Cyrus continued to pursue his successes in the field. Xenophon³⁰ affirms, that after the death of Cyaxares he subdued the Egyptians also, leaving them however their constitution and regal government. The Persian Empire already extended northward to the Black Sea, the Caucasus, and the Caspian, when Cyrus resolved to attack the Massagetæ, a warlike people on the east side of the Caspian. But this expedition had a fatal issue; for, in a battle with Queen Tomyris, he was defeated and slain³¹ in the year B. c. 530. Cyrus was an upright and gentle ruler,³² and treated the people he conquered with great indulgence. This likewise he manifested towards the colony of Jews, whom the Chaldæo-Babylonian monarchs had transported from their native country to the eastern provinces of that kingdom. Scarcely was Cyrus master of Babylon, when he granted to the Jews permission to return to the land of their fathers, and to rebuild their temple, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23. Ezra i. 1—4.³³ He thus fulfilled the anticipations of inspired Jewish seers, who, long before the overthrow of the Chaldean dy-

nasty, had announced him as a conqueror, favoured of Jehovah, and saw in him the future deliverer of their countrymen. Isaiah (ch. xli. 2—5.)

Who raised him up from the east
And sent victory on his path ?
Who gave him nations for a prize,
And made him rule over kings ?
Who caused that before his sword they were dust,
Before his bow as driven stubble ?
He pursued them and went on safely,
Even by the way that his feet had never trode ?
Who hath done this and accomplished it ?
I who call up generations from the beginning—
I, Jehovah, the first and with the last—I am He.
Lands saw it and feared !
The ends of the earth trembled !

And farther on, the name of the conqueror thus described is expressly mentioned (ch. xliv. 28 ; xlv. 1, 4,) Jehovah being introduced saying :

I am he who saith to Koresh :
“ My shepherd *is* he, and shall perform all my pleasure,”
Even he shall say to Jerusalem, “ Thou shalt be built,”
And to the temple, “ Thou shalt be founded.”
Thus speaks Jehovah to his anointed, to Koresh,
Whom I hold by his right hand—
Before whom I subdue nations,
And ungird the loins^a of kings—
Before whom I open gates,
And *to whom* doors shall not be shut.
I will go before thee, and level the heaps,
Brazen gates I will burst, and iron bars I will sever,
I will give thee deep-hidden riches, and secreted treasures,³⁴

^a That is, *disarm, deprive of strength.*

That thou mayest know that I am Jehovah !
He who calleth thee by name, the God of Israel !
For the sake of Jacob, my servant,
And of Israel my chosen,
I called thee by thy name,——
Yea, I named thee, ere thou knewest me.

Cyrus had, in his eldest son Cambyses, called in Ezra, ch. iv. 6, Ahasuerus (Ahashverosh,³⁵) a very unworthy successor. In place of a wise, upright, and mild governor, there reigned an imbecile and barbarous tyrant.³⁶ After he had, in the fifth year of his reign, reduced Egypt to a Persian province, and afterwards subdued Cyrene, Barca, and Libya, from Lower Egypt to the Greater Syrtis, he sought to pursue his conquests towards the west and south. Resolving to attack the Carthaginians by sea, and the Ammonians by land, he despatched spies among the Æthiopians, under pretence of an embassy. But the expedition to Carthage fell to the ground, because the Phœnicians, upon whom the naval power of the Persians entirely depended, refused to allow their ships to be employed against their own colonists. He sent, however, from Thebes fifty thousand men into the Great Oasis, to plunder and burn the temple of Jupiter Ammon; but this army was overwhelmed in the desert by a tempest of sand, and miserably perished through their monarch's infatuation. He himself had moved with the rest of his troops towards Æthiopia, but before they

had advanced the fifth part of the way, famine compelled them to retreat ; and the want of provisions became so great, that after slaughtering and eating all the beasts of burden, every tenth man was put to death, and devoured. Cambyzes chanced to return to Memphis at the period when it was full of rejoicings on account of the festival of Apis. Imagining that the people were exulting over the failure of his expedition, he gave way to the most ruthless indignation against the Egyptians, their priests and gods. But even towards his nearest relatives, and most confidential friends, he behaved in a manner no less outrageous. Upon the bare suspicion of rebellion, he caused his brother Smerdis to be murdered ; and when his wife and sister Meroe manifested symptoms of grief at the event, he treated her so barbarously as to occasion her miscarriage, which was soon after followed by her death. Almost every succeeding day witnessed the execution of one or other of his attendants and courtiers, several of whom he caused to be buried alive. The son of his chief favourite Prexaspes he shot through the heart with an arrow, merely that he might shew the father, who was present, that he was a good marksman, and that amid the excesses of debauchery, he retained entire self-command. Regarding his conduct towards the Jews the Scripture is silent. Only it is mentioned in Ezra iv. 6, that soon after he

had entered upon the government³⁷ the Samaritans addressed to him an accusation against the Jews, who would not allow them to take part in the building of the temple. Cambyzes, however, seems to have taken no notice of a matter which he must have regarded with the utmost indifference; nothing at least is recorded of the effect which the remonstrance produced, and the Samaritans, under the successor of Cambyzes, continued their attempts to hinder the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem, and the rebuilding of the city walls.

Whilst Cambyzes was thus involved in ambitious wars at a distance from his native country, the Magi, who were a Median race, had withdrawn from him the supreme authority, in order to found a new Median dynasty. Cambyzes, in the eighth year of his reign, was on his way back from Egypt to Persia, and had already reached Syria, when a herald from Susa met him with the intelligence, that Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, had been proclaimed king, and claimed the homage of the army. This Smerdis was brother of the Magian Patizeites, whom Cambyzes had entrusted with the government during his absence. The assertion that he was Smerdis the brother of Cambyzes, met a ready belief, from his resembling him so much in appearance, and from its being known only to a few that Cambyzes had ordered his brother to be secretly put

to death. Though Cambyses immediately exposed the deception to his generals, they gave no credit to his representation, supposing it to be dictated by nothing but hatred to his brother. He died soon after of a wound accidentally inflicted by his sword falling out of the scabbard, and Smerdis was universally acknowledged as king.³⁸ He distinguished the commencement of his reign by a munificent act of favour, in causing it to be announced to his subjects, that they were exempt from all taxes and tributary services for the space of three years. During his reign, short as it was, he gained the esteem and affection of his people, so that all, with the exception of the Persians, fondly mourned his death. In the book of Ezra (ch. iv. 7,) he is mentioned under the name of Artaxerxes (*Artachshasta*³⁹) as having prohibited the Jews from the farther rebuilding of the walls and temple of Jerusalem, on account of the injurious accusations of the Samaritans,⁴⁰ who held up their designs as treasonable to the state, (v. 17—22). After Smerdis had reigned eleven months, Otanes, a Persian nobleman, discovered, by means of his daughter Phedyma, who was in the king's harem, that it was not the son of Cyrus, but a Magian of Media, that sat upon the Persian throne. He combined with six other Persian nobles; the seven conspirators rushed into the royal palace, slew the Pseudo-Smerdis and his

brother Patizeites, and on the same day effected likewise a great massacre among the Magi who were at Susa.⁴¹ In the consultations which ensued as to the form of government that should be adopted, Otanes declared for democracy, and Magabyzus for oligarchy, but Darius contended for the preservation of the monarchical constitution, and was supported in his views by the other four conspirators. When they proceeded to deliberate in what manner one of the seven should be elected king, Otanes said, that as he would not consent to be supreme ruler himself, so neither would he suffer himself to be governed by another; and he renounced his right to the throne, upon the express condition, that neither he nor any of his posterity should come under the king's dominion. This was acceded to by the rest, and we find that even in the days of Herodotus, the family of Otanes still enjoyed their immunities, being subject to the royal government only when they transgressed any of the fundamental laws of the kingdom. In addition to this, it was resolved that Otanes, as restorer of the Persian dynasty, and his descendants after him, should yearly receive a splendid Median garb of honour as a present from the king. It was stipulated that each of the six should enjoy unrestrained and immediate access to the monarch, unless when he was in his harem; and that he should not be

allowed to choose his wives out of any other families than theirs. It was finally determined, that the royal dignity should be conferred upon that individual of their number whose horse should neigh first after sunrise. This was done by the horse of Darius Hystaspes^a (*i. e.* son of *Gustasp* or *Vyshtasp*), who was immediately declared king.⁴²

Darius Hystaspes, a son of the governor of Persis, of the family of the Achæmenides, is called, in the Hebrew records, *Daryavesh*,⁴³ (Ezra iv. 24; v. 5, 6; vi. 1—5.) His reign continued from the year B. c. 521, to B. c. 486; and he ruled, upon the whole, with wisdom and mildness. He greatly improved the internal organization of the empire (which, under him, reached the highest pitch of greatness) by dividing it into provinces, over which he placed governors called *Satraps*, and by properly regulating the tribute to be paid by each division.⁴⁴ It redounds less to his honour, that, not satisfied with ruling over the whole of Central and Western Asia, he thirsted after fresh conquests, which, while they drained his states of men and treasure, laid the foundation of the weakness and ultimate ruin of his colossal empire. After reducing the revolted

^a It should have been added, that it happened through the well-known stratagem of his groom Oebares, to whom, and his horse, Darius erected an equestrian statue, with an inscription, in honour of both.—M.

Babylonians, he advanced with an army of 700,000^a men and a fleet of 600 ships to the Thracian Bosphorus, being the first Asiatic who had warred with Europeans. In memory of this, he caused two stone pillars to be erected at the Bosphorus, upon one of which were inscribed in Assyrian, on the other in Greek characters, the names of the nations who had first invaded Europe from Asia. He overran and subdued Eastern Thrace as far as the Danube, and, crossing that river, advanced into the country of the Scythians, against whom the expedition was more immediately directed, but it proved very unsuccessful. Upon Darius returning to Sardis, he left a part of the army in Thrace under Magabyzus, who not only completed the subjection of that province, but made Macedonia also tributary. The governor appointed over Thrace was Otanes.⁴⁵ During these successes in Eastern Europe, Aryandes, the Persian governor of Egypt, sent out an army, supported by a fleet, towards the west of Africa, as far as the Greater Syrtis. Darius now began to meditate conquests in the East; but, before commencing the undertaking, he displayed greater caution and foresight than he had done in his Scythian expedition. He despatched a skilful navigator *Scylax*, a Greek of the

^a Some think this an exaggeration, or a mistake for 70,000.
—M.

Carian island of Caryanda, who went down the Indus with a fleet from the town of Caspatyrus (in the north-west of India), and explored the countries on its banks ; and, having reached the mouth of the river, sailed westward along the coast into the Arabian Gulf, and landed in Egypt after a fortunate and very remarkable voyage of thirty months. Scylax immediately repaired to Susa, and after he had made to the king a report of the countries he had visited, Darius moved towards India with a powerful army, and made a considerable portion of the western region tributary.⁴⁶ These Indian conquests were formed into the twentieth province of the Persian empire, and brought yearly into the royal treasury 360 talents of gold. The most important, but at the same time the most unsuccessful, undertaking of King Darius, was his expedition against Greece. The occasion arose upon the revolt of the Greeks of Asia Minor, excited by the two Milesians, Aristagoras and Histæus ; for, as the insurgents had been assisted by the Athenians with twenty, and the Eretrians with five ships, Darius sent his son-in-law, Mardonius, with a large army and fleet to invade Greece. Macedonia submitted at his approach ; but the fleet was dispersed in doubling the cape at Mount Athos, and a night attack on the army by the Thracians, rendered it unserviceable for his

farther progress. This double misfortune, however, did not drive the king from his purpose. A new fleet of 600 ships and 500,000 men sailed from Samos under the command of Datis, a Mede, and the Persian prince Artaphernes, and was for a time successful. They subdued all the islands of the Ægean Sea, landed in Eubæa, and took and destroyed the city of Eretria. Attica was invaded by 100,000 of their army, but Miltiades overthrew them at Marathon with a tenth part of the number, and afterwards, by a forced march, saved Athens, which was in imminent danger of being destroyed by their fleet. Yet notwithstanding these reverses, Darius did not renounce the idea of subjugating Greece; he devoted himself to a three years' preparation for a new expedition, which he was to command in person. But, in the midst of his warlike projects, death overtook him in the thirty-sixth year of his reign (B. C. 486), not long after he had had the mortification to learn that the Egyptians had shaken off the Persian yoke.⁴⁷

During the many wars of Darius, Judea seems to have enjoyed comparative repose. From the veneration in which he held the memory of his great predecessor, Cyrus,⁴⁸ the patriotic Jews were led to entertain the hope that he would authorize the completion of the temple, which had been begun by permission of Cyrus, but, since

the last years of his reign, had been stopped through the intrigues of the Samaritans. Encouraged by the prophecies and exhortations of Haggai and Zechariah, the governor Zerubbabel, the high priest Joshua, and the whole people, resumed the building, in the second year of the reign of Darius;⁴⁹ whereupon Tatnai, the Persian satrap of the countries on this side the Euphrates, called the Jews to account for their authority in so acting, and, upon their appealing to the decree of Cyrus, the matter was reported to the king. Search was made by his order in the royal archives at Ecbatana, and there was found the edict in question, commanding the re-erection of the temple on a larger scale than before, and the expense to be defrayed out of the royal treasury. Darius caused an extract of this to be sent to Tatnai, with instructions to afford to the Jews every facility for the prosecution of the work, and not only to furnish money for the cost of the erection, but to provide the necessary animals for sacrifice, and the wheat, salt, wine, and oil, as the priests should require from day to day—"that they may" (continues the rescript) *offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and pray for the life of the king, and of his sons,*" Ezra vi. 10. The building being resumed under these favourable auspices, was now carried on with vigour, and finally completed in the sixth year of Darius' reign. Ezra vi. 15.

But as Cyrus had in Cambyses, so had Darius in Xerxes,⁵⁰ a very unworthy successor, no less insensate, cruel, and debauched. When he assumed the reins of government, the Persian empire extended from the Indus to Ethiopia.⁵¹ After he had brought into subjection the revolted Egyptians, he spent three years in making immense preparations for renewing the war with Greece by sea and land. In order to deprive the Greeks of the expectation of aid from their own colonists in Sicily and Lower Italy, [Magna Græcia], Xerxes concluded an alliance with his African neighbours, the Carthaginians, who engaged to attack at the same time the Sicilian and Italian Greeks. This they accordingly did with an army of 300,000 men, under Hamilcar, but without success. In the fifth year of his reign, Xerxes led his immense host,⁵² (the infantry alone amounting to 1,700,000 men^a), into Asia Minor, and took up his winter quarters at Sardis. Having thrown a bridge of boats across the Hellespont, and cut through Mount Athos, he advanced into Europe in the spring of the following year. The first check which his army received was from Leonidas, with his devoted

^a According to Herodotus (vii. 60,) the number of the army was ascertained by making a myriad (10,000) stand close together, and then building a wall round them; and, upon these retiring, the enclosure was filled with successive myriads till the computation was finished.—M.

band of patriots, at Thermopylæ. On the same day an indecisive engagement took place between the hostile fleets at Artemisium. Moving southward, the Persian army carried everywhere fire and sword, especially throughout Attica; but their fleet sustained a total discomfiture at Salamis from the Greeks under Themistocles, and in the view of Xerxes himself, who was seated on his golden throne, erected on an eminence on the coast. This defeat, and the report spread by the Greeks that they intended to cut off the retreat of his army at the Hellespont, threw him into such terror, that, after a precipitate and cowardly flight through Thrace, he recrossed the Hellespont to Asia in a fishing-boat. About the same period his allies, the Carthaginians, were defeated at Himera, in Sicily, by Gelo King of Syracuse. Xerxes had still some expectations from the efforts of Mardonius, whom he had left in Greece with 300,000 men. But the next year he was defeated and slain by Pausanias at Plataea, while the Persian fleet was completely destroyed at Cape Mycælé, in Ionia, by the Spartan King Leotychides and the Athenian Xantippus. As a consequence of this victory, Cyprus and other islands, as well as all the Greek cities in Asia Minor, threw off the Persian yoke.⁵³ Xerxes retired from Sardis to Susa, and gave himself completely up to sensuality and voluptuousness, till, in the twenty-

first year of his reign (B. C. 464), he was murdered by Artabanus the captain of his body-guard.⁵⁴

It is to that period of Persian history which followed upon this king's return from Greece, that the events belong which were so important to the Jews, and are circumstantially related in the book of Esther.⁵⁵ Xerxes, who in that narrative bears the name Ahasuerus (Ahashverosh⁵⁶), as does Cambyses in the book of Ezra, had repudiated one of his wives called Vashti,⁵⁸ because she had refused to appear at a festival which the king (in the *third* year of his reign)⁵⁹ had given to his nobles. With the view of filling up her place, the most beautiful virgins throughout the empire were brought to Susa, and introduced into the royal harem, that the king might choose one of them as queen. [Being in the interval absent on his expedition to Greece,] it was not till the *seventh* year of his reign^a that he chose a young Jewess, Hadassah,⁶⁰ the foster daughter of a man living in Susa, of the tribe of Benjamin, called Mordecai. After she was raised to the rank of queen, she received the new name of Esther.⁶¹ Mordecai, who was also taken into the service of the court, had the good fortune to detect a conspiracy against the king's life, and gave information of it through Esther; yet, though his report was found correct, his

^a Comp. Esth. i. 3, with ch. ii. 16.—M.

fidelity passed unrewarded. His conscientious firmness, not long after, brought himself and all his countrymen throughout Persia into the greatest danger. The king had raised to the rank of grand vizier⁶² a certain man called Haman,⁶³ who demanded an obsequious homage to his person, not indeed altogether foreign to the manners of the East, but which had not been claimed by his predecessors in office; he required that every one should bow to him with their faces to the earth. But Mordecai, who believed that such reverential prostration was due to God only, refused to perform it; and when Haman learned that he was a Jew, who was actuated by religious scruples, he dreaded lest the example might be followed by the rest of that nation.^a The feeling of wounded pride, and a desire of revenge, induced him to propose to the king the entire extermination of the Jewish people, who, in their laws and habits, lived distinct from all other races in the empire. The king gave him the requisite authority,⁶⁴ and Haman immediately sent messengers to the governors of the pro-

^a *Milman*, who is disposed to take an unfavourable view of the character, both of Esther and Mordecai, representing the former as cruel and the latter as ambitious, accounts for Mordecai's refusal to pay Haman honour, on the supposition of his being a rival candidate for the viziership. *Hist. of the Jews*, II. p. 18. But that the real cause is here assigned by Rosenmüller, is evident from ch. iii. 3—6.—M.

vinces, with the command, that, on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month,⁶⁵ all the Jews, of every age and of both sexes, should be put to death, and their property confiscated. Fortunately for the Jews, Haman, relying on the irrevocable word of a Persian king,⁶⁶ took no pains to conceal the intended massacre,⁶⁷ intelligence of which Mordecai found means to convey to Queen Esther. Though she had not been called to the royal presence for thirty days [and it was death to intrude unbidden], she was nevertheless prevailed on by Mordecai's urgent representations, to appear, though unsummoned, that she might intercede for her kindred and nation. The king held out the golden sceptre as a token of his favour, and accepted her invitation to a banquet which she had prepared, and to which Haman also was invited. The latter supposing, from this distinguished and exclusive honour, that he was secure against all risks, gave orders that a lofty gallows should forthwith be erected for Mordecai's execution. In the mean time, however, Ahasuerus, to banish the tedium of a sleepless night, caused to be read to him the recent annals of the kingdom as recorded by the royal historiographer,⁶⁸ and heard, among other things, the relation of the conspiracy which had been discovered by Mordecai, who he found had remained unrequited. The next morning, when Haman appeared before him to obtain an order for Mor-

decai's death, he received, to his astonishment, the command to array the hated Jew in robes of royal state and the other insignia of his new dignity of prince of the empire, to which the king had raised him, and to lead him through the city of Susa in triumphal procession, proclaiming him "as the man whom the king delighted to honour." At the second banquet of Esther which followed, she preferred her petition in behalf of her proscribed countrymen, and so far prevailed. Haman's guilt being detected, he was dragged from the royal presence, and hanged on the gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, while the latter was exalted as grand vizier in his room. Still the most imminent danger threatened the Jews throughout Persia, for the king's decree was irreversible. To counteract its effects therefore, expresses were sent in every direction, with full permission to the Jews to act on the defensive against all assailants; and it was the less likely they would suffer molestation, now that it was known that the prime minister of the king (the second man in the empire), and his favourite queen, were both of that nation. But, besides this, full scope was granted them for revenge upon their enemies; and, accordingly, on the very day designed for their own extirpation, they committed among them enormous slaughter, the number massacred in Susa alone being 800,

in addition to the ten sons of Haman, and throughout the entire empire no less than 75,000.⁶⁹ To preserve the memory of these signal events, Mordecai commanded that the Jews and their posterity should commemorate, in perpetuity the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month Adar as a feast of joy, “as the days wherein they rested from their enemies.” This injunction was confirmed by Queen Esther, and the feast was denominated, “*the days of Purim*,”⁷⁰ that is, “the days of the lot,” (Esther ix. 26—32), which, it is well known, are to this day kept by the Jews of all countries with great rejoicings.^a

Xerxes was succeeded by his third son, Artaxerxes Longimanus, (*i. e.* Long-hand,^b) who was placed on the throne by Artabanus, the murderer of his father. This ambitious man persuading him that his eldest brother Darius had been the perpetrator of the crime, induced

^a It was called *Purim* (from *pur*, the lot), because Haman had cast the lot on these days to destroy the Jews. The month Adar corresponds to our February and March. At the festival, as now observed in the synagogues, the book of Esther is read; and at the name of Haman, all clap their hands, stamp with their feet, and cry, “Perish his memory!”—M.

^b In Gr. *Μακρόχεις*. He was so designated, according to *Plutarch* (in *Vit.*), because his right hand was longer than his left; according to *Strabo*, (Lib. xv.), because both his hands were so long, that, standing upright, he could touch his knees with them.—M.

the king to kill him with his own hand ; but the treachery and seditious designs of Artabanus being discovered, he suffered the penalty due to his guilt. His seven sons rose in rebellion, supported by a numerous and powerful train of partisans ; nor was the revolt quelled till after a bloody battle. Artaxerxes then sent an army against his second brother Hystaspes, who was governor of Bactria, and had been proclaimed king of Persia in the eastern part of the empire ; and there also, after a severe struggle, his arms proved victorious. In the west, however, commotions occurred in various quarters for the space of seven years. In the third year of his reign the Egyptians declared their independence, elected for their king a Libyan, named Inarus, and, with the aid of the Athenians, for a time successfully maintained their freedom, but were at length again subdued. The Athenians were more fortunate. Under the conduct of Cymon, they defeated the Persians by sea and land ; and at last, in the fifty-first year of the war (B. C. 450,) they compelled Artaxerxes to conclude a treaty which was highly favourable to the liberties of all Greece. The last war in which the king engaged, was a contest with his brother-in-law Megabazus, which arose out of the subjection of the Egyptians under Inarus. The latter, with about fifty Athenians, had surrendered to Megabazus, under the express

stipulation that their lives would be spared ; but notwithstanding this sacred engagement, at the end of five years, the king, at the earnest and persevering entreaties of his mother Amestris,^a (whose son Achæmenes had been killed in the battle,) caused Inarus to be crucified, and the Athenians to be beheaded. Megabazus, who was then governor of Syria, justly indignant at this breach of faith, rose in arms against Artaxerxes, and defeated the two armies which were successively sent against him. The king now felt that he had every thing to dread from such an enemy, (for Megabazus was the greatest general and statesman of the empire,) and deemed it best to seek an accommodation with him, which was mainly effected through the mediation of Amytis, the wife of Megabazus and sister of the king. After this, the Persian empire enjoyed for twenty years a season of uninterrupted repose, till the king's death, which happened in the forty-first year of his reign, B. c. 424.⁷¹

Artaxerxes (who is called in the Hebrew writings *Artachshasta*,⁷² Ezra vii. 1 ; Neh. ii. 1,) was as favourable to his Jewish subjects as had been his immediate predecessors Darius and Xerxes (Ahasuerus.) During the wars which the kings of Persia had carried on in Western Asia, Egypt,

^a Rosenmüller has "*Amytis*," but that was the name of his sister, *Amestris* is by some supposed to be the *Esther* of scripture.—M.

and Greece, for the period of fifty years, Judea, which lay so near the theatre of the bloodiest battle fields, must have suffered much, merely from the burden imposed on the inhabitants of quartering and maintaining a portion of the Persian hosts. It needs therefore excite no surprise if, though the temple was rebuilt, and many privileges had been conferred by the Persian monarchs, the religious and civil constitution of the restored Jews had as yet received but little consolidation. It was doubtless with a view to further this important object, that, in the seventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, permission was given to the Jews in the other provinces of the empire to repair to Jerusalem, Ezra vii. 7. The conduct and superintendence of them was entrusted to Ezra, a man thoroughly conversant with the Mosaic code, and to whom authority was given to appoint judges, rectify abuses, watch over the observance of the laws, and punish the disobedient according to the extent of their delinquency, with imprisonment, confiscation of goods, banishment, or even death. He was, moreover, invested with powers to make a collection for the temple-service among the Jews who remained in Babylonia; and the king and his counsellors not only gave large contributions themselves, but instructed the treasurers on this side of the Euphrates to provide Ezra with whatever he should require, “unto a hundred

talents of silver, and to an hundred measures (*cors*) of wheat, and to an hundred *baths* of wine, and to an hundred *baths* of oil, and salt without prescribing how much," in order that the customary offerings might be punctually made. And besides this, with the view of inducing a greater number of priests and Levites to return to Jerusalem, the ministers of the temple, and even its slaves,⁷³ were declared to be exempt from the payment of tribute. (Ezra ch. vii. and viii.) Yet notwithstanding these privileges, it is mentioned that in the caravan of Hebrews who assembled at the river Ahava, none of the sons of Levi were to be found; and it was with difficulty that Ezra could at last prevail upon two families of Levites to accompany him. Indeed, after all Ezra's exertions in behalf of the settlers in Palestine, his labours do not appear to have been followed with the expected result. For, thirteen years after, Nehemiah, another Hebrew who filled at Susa the important post of cup-bearer to the king, learned that his compatriots in Judea were still in a low oppressed condition, and that Jerusalem was yet lying in ruins.⁷⁴ He resolved to employ his influence at court for his country's good, and accordingly received from the king a commission to repair thither with the rank of governor,⁷⁵ and act in concert with Ezra the scribe. Nehemiah became the ultimate restorer of the city, and his services in completing the re-organiza-

tion of the Jewish commonwealth were highly meritorious, and crowned with signal success.

After Artaxerxes Longimanus, the throne was ascended by his son Xerxes II., but, in the short space of two months, he was murdered by his half-brother Sogdian, as the latter was, in seven months after, by his brother Ochus, who had formerly been governor of Hyrcania.⁷⁶ After possessing himself of the supreme power, (B. C. 423,) he assumed the name of Darius, whence the Greeks called him *Darius Nothus*, i. e. Darius the Bastard. His reign proved very turbulent, one rebellion following another in rapid succession. Arsites, his brother, and after him Pisuthnes, governor of Lydia, revolted soon after his accession. Scarcely were these troubles suppressed, and their authors put to death by being suffocated in ashes,⁷⁷ when Artoxares, the chief of the black eunuchs,^a to whom the king had given his entire confidence, grasped at the royal sceptre, but perished in the attempt. The Egyptians took advantage of these commotions to renounce the dominion of Persia, and made Amyrtæus of Sais king. They expelled the Persians from Egypt, pursued them, with the assistance of the Arabians, as far as Phœnicia, and maintained themselves independent for sixty-four years. Ochus was more successful against the Greeks of Asia Minor, where,

^a The officer of state who is still known in Eastern courts by the name of the *Kislar Aga*, q. d. "Dominus puellarum."—M.

during the Peloponnesian war between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, his governors Pharnabazus and Tissaphernes made it the rule of their policy to succour the weaker party. But as fortune appeared to remain with the Athenians, Ochus concluded a treaty with the Lacedæmonians, which afterwards proved a fertile source of troubles. He appointed his son Cyrus, when a youth of only sixteen, to be governor of the Persian provinces in Asia Minor, with almost unlimited powers. In the meantime, the Medes sought to throw off the yoke, but were unsuccessful, and only brought themselves under more galling servitude. About three years after Ochus died, without having seen the conclusion of the Peloponnesian war.⁷⁸

This prince is not mentioned, either in the Bible or by Josephus, and thence we conclude that the amelioration of the condition of the Hebrews in Judea, did not particularly engage his attention.⁷⁹

After Ochus, the Persian sceptre was wielded by his eldest son, Arsaces, under the name of *Artaxerxes*, to which the Greeks added the surname of *Mnemon*, on account of his prodigious memory. His reign began in the year B. C. 404, not long before the war of the Peloponnesus ended in favour of the Lacedæmonians. He was scarcely seated on the throne, when his ambitious brother Cyrus attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together. He generously for-

gave him, and even confirmed him in the government of Asia Minor. But there Cyrus raised a powerful army, and, marching towards Babylonia, encountered his brother on the plains of Cunaxa, where he was defeated and slain. After the battle, his Greek auxiliaries, under the conduct of Xenophon, made that memorable retreat known by the name of *the Retreat of the Ten Thousand*, of which their accomplished leader has left so interesting a narrative.

After being engaged in long wars with the Lacedæmonians and other powers (which it does not fall within our present purpose to narrate,^a) and after having had his last days embittered by family dissensions, Artaxerxes died in the year B. C. 358, in the 46th year of his reign.⁸⁰

Judea appears to have enjoyed, in his time, comparative quiet; yet, between the years B. C. 377 and 374, it must have suffered much from the passage and repassage of the Persian troops, sent under Pharnabazus and Iphicrates on an unsuccessful expedition against Egypt. It was likewise under the reign of this monarch that the temple of Jerusalem was polluted by a most atrocious crime. Jesus, the brother of John, the high-priest, became so great a favourite

^a As it is the professed object of this work to embrace only so much of the Persian history as is *biblical*, or connected with the fate and fortunes of the Jews, I have somewhat abridged the latter portion of the narrative.—M.

with Bagoses, who commanded the Persian troops in Judea, that he was nominated by him to the high-priest's office. With the view of making good his claim to the dignity, he repaired to Jerusalem, entered the temple, and, after a violent altercation, was there murdered by his brother. On the report of this outrage, Bagoses hastened to the metropolis, and, when the Jews would have forbidden him entrance into the holy place, as being an unclean Gentile, he indignantly exclaimed, "What! am I not purer than that carcase which lies in your temple?"—and forthwith rushed in. As a punishment of the atrocity, he laid upon every animal offered in sacrifice an impost of fifty drachms, which were exacted during the seven years that he remained in Judea.⁸¹

In the succeeding reign of the barbarous *Ochus*, or *Artaxerxes Ochus*, the Phœnicians and Cypriots revolted and were supported by Nectanebus, king of Egypt; but Mentor, the Rhodian, whom he had sent with a body of Greeks to their assistance, basely delivered up to Ochus the city of Sidon, the inhabitants of which, in despair, set fire to their houses and perished in the flames. The earlier historians are silent respecting the part which the Jews took in these neighbouring commotions; but later writers⁸² (who drew their information from sources now lost) affirm, that after the destruction of Sidon, Ochus moved into Judea, besieged and took Jericho, and of the

Jews who were made prisoners, he carried a part with him into Egypt, but the greater number he expatriated to Hyrcania, on the Caspian Sea. His Egyptian campaign proved no less successful; yet was it indirectly the cause of his ruin, for his chief minister, Bagoas, the eunuch, a native of Egypt, provoked at the cruelties which Ochus perpetrated upon his countrymen, and especially at the indignity with which he treated his god Apis, caused him to be poisoned in the year B. C. 338.⁸³

The Persian dynasty was now drawing to a close. *Arses*, the youngest brother of Ochus, after a short reign of not quite two years, was succeeded by *Darius Codomannus*, who was but distantly related to the royal family. He had acquired great fame as a warrior, and exhibited many of the qualities of a wise and upright ruler. But a new star had now the ascendant, before which the star of Cyrus must wane and be eclipsed. In the year B. C. 330, *Alexander of Macedon*, after a series of victories, ending in the death of Darius, came into possession of all the countries which formed the vast Medo-Persian monarchy, after it had existed for a period of 209 years.⁸⁴

The provinces of the Persian empire, according to the organization established by Darius

Hystaspes,⁸⁵ were governed by viceroys, who were called *Satraps*.⁸⁶ Herodotus says there were twenty of these satrapies, which he enumerates by name, stating at the same time the amount of tribute which each was expected to bring into the royal treasury.⁸⁷ But it is manifest, that, according to that classification, more than one nation must be included in the same satrapy. A far greater number of provinces is mentioned in the books of Daniel and Esther, as constituting the Persian monarchy. In the former, it is said (ch. vi. 1, 2) that Darius placed over the countries of his dominion, *a hundred and twenty* governors;⁸⁸ and the commencement of the book of Esther says, that Ahashverosh (Xerxes) ruled over *one hundred and twenty-seven* provinces.⁸⁹ Yet in this there is nothing contradictory to the statement of Herodotus; for his enumeration, as Heeren⁹⁰ has acutely remarked, is not so much a geographical division into provinces, as a classification of the different tribes of people who inhabited the conquered lands, according to the amount of tribute respectively exacted of them. Indeed the number of satrapies, given by Herodotus, would be by far too small, if we thereby understood *provinces*, since Asia Minor, or the peninsula of Western Asia, alone contained (at a later period) no less than *ten* satrapies.⁹¹ Over the hundred and twenty governors mentioned by Daniel, were placed three princes,⁹² or presidents,

who had the supreme control and administration of the finances. We also read in the book of Esther (ch. i. 14) of "*the seven princes of Persia and Media*, who saw the king's countenance, and sat first in the kingdom." These were doubtless the same persons who are described in Esth. vii. 14, as the *seven counsellors of the king*, and who formed the state-ministry.⁹³ The seven⁹⁴ eunuchs,⁹⁵ or chamberlains, mentioned in Esth. i. 10, 12; vi. 14, were different from these, having probably been entrusted with the care of the royal harem.

Upon the occurrence of affairs of great importance, which concerned the whole empire,—such as preparations for war,—all the satraps and princes, as well as the generals of the army, were summoned to the king's camp to be present at the deliberations. Thus Xerxes (whom we have supposed to be the Ahasuerus of Scripture,) called all the grandees of Persia to Susa in the third year of his reign, to give their counsels regarding the war which had been resolved on against Greece.⁹⁶ It was in all probability, upon that occasion, that the court festival was given, described at the beginning of the book of Esther, which lasted a hundred and eighty days, and at which "the king shewed the glorious riches of his kingdom, and the gorgeous magnificence of his greatness," Esth. i. 4. It ended with a special feast of seven days, given

within the gardens of the royal palace, “where were white, red, and yellow hangings, fastened with linen and purple cords by silver rings to pillars of marble. The couches were of gold and silver, upon a pavement of green, white, yellow, and black marble, and the drink was handed in golden vessels, which were always changed for others; and royal wine was there in abundance, as it became such a king to give,” *Esth.* i. 5—7. This description strikingly corresponds with the accounts which European travellers have recorded of the public banquets given by the modern kings of Persia.⁹⁷

In the ruins of Persepolis, there are found various delineations of the Persian monarchs seated upon the throne in royal state; and as these were doubtless executed by cotemporary artists, their correctness cannot be questioned. One of them⁹⁸ answers very closely to the description in *Esther* v. 1, 2. The king appears in the full attire of royalty—under his feet is the golden footstool that was always carried after him⁹⁹—in his right hand he holds the golden sceptre; in his left, according to Heeren, the holy vessel, or cup *Havan*,¹⁰⁰ which was used in sacrifice. “Immediately behind,” continues Heeren, “stands a eunuch (known by his almost female dress and figure) with a fly-fan in his hand, and his face muffled. The throne or royal chair is supported by three rows of male figures, which are

placed above one another, with their arms lifted up, like cariatides; as each has a different garb and head-dress, they are evidently intended to represent different nations; and thus the whole is a figurative representation of *the extent of the kingdom, and the greatness of the king*. The first figure has the complete Medo-Persian dress—an intimation that this was indeed the first nation in point of rank, yet were they servants of the king as well as the rest. In one of the lower figures, Niebuhr assures us, may be clearly discovered the Negro profile, and the woolly negro hair. And it would hence appear that the sculptor has selected, partly the most remote, partly the most distinguished nations, in order thereby to exhibit the power and majesty of their common ruler."

1. *فارسستان*, *Fārs, Fārsistān*. Yet this orthography and pronunciation are rather Arabic. The original is properly *پارس* *Pārs, Pares*, a word which, in the Zend and old Persian, signifies *clear, bright, pure as ether*. This country probably received the name, like Khusistan, (See Chap. vi. note 3,) from the generally pure atmosphere, and clear serene sky. See *Wahl's Asia*, p. 225, where other less probable etymologies are mentioned and confuted. Comp. *Tychsen's Third Supplement to Heeren's Researches*, Part I. Div. 1. p. 627.

2. *פרס*, Ezra iv. 5, *et seqq.* vi. 14. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 20, 22. Dan. v. 28.

3. "The people of the west, designated the entire empire by the name of *Persia*, this particular province by the name of *Persis*, (Πέρσις, ἰδος,) and the nation they called *Persæ*, (οἱ Πέρσαι.)" Mannert's Geogr. of the Greeks and Romans, Vol. V. Part 2, p. 497.

4. *Voyages*, Vol. VIII. p. 208.

5. *Chardin*, loc. cit. p. 243.

6. *Chardin*, loc. cit. p. 436. Comp. *Franklin's* Observations made on a Tour from Bengal to Persia, (Lond. 1790,) p. 142. [Ker Porter says: (Vol. I. p. 709,)—"The present summer has been unusually hot, and the feverish state of my frame made me feel it more so; but the inhabitants of this beautiful vale, told me that Shiraz is generally esteemed the most moderate climate in the southern division of the empire; that its summer noons may be warmer than is pleasant, but the mornings and evenings are delightful: but when September commences, the weather becomes heavenly; and continues until the end of November with a perfectly serene atmosphere, of a most balmy and agreeable temperature, and a sky whose soft hues are reflected from every object. The earth is covered with the gathered harvest, flowers and fruits; melons, peaches, pears, nectarines, cherries, grapes, pomegranates; in short, all is a garden abundant in sweets and refreshment. The vales of Ouroomia, and of Salmos, which lie north-west of Tabriz are the only places in the empire that compare with Shiraz and its autumnal bounties."]

7. *Strabo*, XV. 3, p. 727. *Chardin*, Tom. III.

p. 289. [*Ker Porter*, says (I. p. 458 :) “ Having completely cleared the valley of Division, we found ourselves in a wide plain, and entered into Fars. The general face of the country differed in no respect from the principal part of that we have been passing through for several days. The ground was barren of every kind of vegetation, excepting where the soap-wort grew in scanty patches, and that of a very meagre sort. An apt soil I thought to teach lessons of hardihood and privation !”]

8. That the *Kyros* or *Cyrus*, the *Araxes*, and the *Bend Emir*, are different names of one and the same river, flowing through the plain of Persepolis, is placed beyond a doubt by the remarks of *Hoeck* (Vet. Med. et Pers. Monumm. p. 58,) and *Ouseley* in his *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 326.

9. مرودشت , See *Ouseley*, *ibid.* p. 227, 334, 414.

Also called the plain of Istakhr, اصطخر , اسطخر.

استخر , a name which, according to the Persian Dictionary, *Burhan Kati*,^a denotes a conflux of water, a reservoir. The word has been carefully investigated by *Ouseley*, *ibid.* p. 309, et seqq. *Strabo*, (XV. p. 729,) calls this plain κοίλη Πέρσις, Cœle Persis, that is *Hollow Persia*.

10. پارس کده , i. e. *the place or camp of the Persians*. See *Tychsen* in the work cited at note

^a The Borhání Káti, i. e. *The Cutting Proof*. The best Edition is that of Calcutta, 1818.—M.

1, and *Ouseley* loc. cit. p. 317. Comp. *Reland* de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 111, p. 213 of the second Vol. of his Dissertt. [See the Appendix.]

11. See *Plutarch's* Life of Artaxerxes, cap. 10.

12. Exped. of Alexander, VI. 29. The accounts of the tomb of Cyrus given by ancient writers will be found collected by *Hoeck*, loc. cit. p. 69, et seqq. Comp. *Ouseley*, p. 320, 427.

13. See *Hoeck*, loc. cit. p. 65, et seqq.

14. The remains now form the celebrated ruins called *Tshihl Minār*, [*i. e.* "the Forty Pillars."]

15. XVII. 71. Tom. II. p. 215 of *Wesseling's* Edit.

16. *Persica*, cap. 15.

17. Tom. VIII. p. 305.

18. *Chardin*, *ibid.* p. 313.

19. See views of it in *Chardin*, Plate 68. *Le Bruyn*, Plate 158. [and *Ker Porter*, Vol. I. Plate 17.]

20. *Heeren's* *Ideen*, Part I., Div. 1, p. 250, et seqq.

21. See *Kleuker's* *Zend Avesta* abridged, p. 67, note, and *Rhode's* *Sacred Traditions of the Zend Tribes*, p. 194, et seqq.

22. *Herodot.* IX. 122. *Arrian*, V. 4. *Plato* de Legg. Book III. (Tom. II. p. 695 of the Edit. of *Seranus*.)

23. According to the not improbable conjecture of *Wahl*, (*Asia*, p. 210,) Achæmenes, one of the oldest Persian kings, is identical with him, who is called in the *Zend* books, *Djemshīd* دجشمشید, from whose

name came **آءجم** *Adjem*, the appellation by which the Persians are commonly designated by the Arabs. The radical syllable is **جم** *Djem* or *Djam*; **شيد** *Shīd*, means “splendid or brilliant, elevated or sublime.” Comp. *Reland’s* Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 6, p. 108 of the second Vol. of his Dissertt.^a

24. *Ἀγῡαδάτης* in *Strabo* XV. 3, 6, p. 729. This name seems to have been abbreviated from the Persian words **اگاه دار داد** *Agāh-dār-dād*, i. e. “having knowledge of right, or “maintaining the right.”

25. We here follow the accounts of *Herodotus* (I.

جم هو القمر وشيد هو الشعاع اي شعاع القمر^a
وكذلك ايضا يسمون خورشيد اي شعاع الشمس
لأن خور اسم الشمس

Djemschīdi nomen e *djem*, i. e. luna, et *shīd*, i. e. splendore compositum, splendorem lunæ significat. Eodem modo *Chūr-shīdi* nomen fecerunt, quod splendorem solis valet; *chūr* enim solis nomen est. *Abulfedæ* Historia Anteislamica (Edit. Fleischer, p. 66.) For *Khūrshīd*, compare note 26 of this chapter.

The rule according to which the Arabians represent the Persian **د** sometimes by **د**, and sometimes by **ذ**, is given in the work quoted above, at p. 212. “If before **د** there be any quiescent letter except these three, **اوي**, it is expressed simply by *Dal*; otherwise by *Dhal*.”—M.

123, et seqq.) which *Jahn*, (Bibl. Archæol. Part II. Book I. 221,) upon insufficient grounds, reckons fabulous. He prefers the narrative of Xenophon in the *Cyropædia*, where nothing is said of the rebellion of Cyrus against his grandfather. But the mention of such a revolt would have presented Cyrus under an unfavourable point of view, and was contrary to the design of Xenophon, which, according to Plato's assertion, (de Legibus, Book III.) was to exhibit Cyrus as the pattern of a virtuous and perfect ruler. *Cicero* also says, (ad Quintum Fratr. Epist. 1): *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiæ fidem scriptus est, sed ad effigiem justi imperii.* Comp. *Gellii* Noct. Attic. Lib. XIV. cap. 3.^a The *Cyropædia* may nevertheless contain a true picture of the Persian manners and government. As to the credibility of the historical accounts which Herodotus and Ctesias give of Persia, and the sources whence they drew them, see Heeren's *Ideen*, Part I. Div. I, p. 156, et seqq. The history of the Persian kings by the Greek writers mentioned can scarcely be recognised in the narratives of the Persian and Arabic poets and annalists of the tenth century; and the works of any earlier native historians are no longer extant. The

^a The title of that chapter of the curious work of Gellius is, "Whether Xenophon and Plato were rivals and enemies?" One proof given of the affirmative is, that Xenophon wrote his *Cyropædia* in order to oppose the views on government which had been advanced by Plato in his "Republic,"—
M.

poets drew their accounts chiefly from traditions, which, in the course of so many ages, had become greatly disfigured, and must be regarded as far inferior in authoritative value to the writings of the Greeks, who flourished while the ancient Persian monarchy still existed. The history of Persia, according to oriental authorities,^a will be found in the *Ancient Universal History* (translated into German, with notes, by S. G. Baumgarten,) and in *Malcolm's History of Persia*, from the most Early Period to the Present Time, 2 vols. 4to. Lond. 1815. Comp. *Richardson's Dissertt. on the Languages, Literature, and Manners of Eastern Nations*. p. 80. [Oxford 1777–8. It is also prefixed to his *Persian Dictionary*.] *Wahl's Hist. of Eastern Languages and Literature*, (Leipzig, 1784, 8vo.) p. 143. *Volney, Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Hist. Ancienne*. Paris, 3 Tom. 8vo. 1815,) Part II. p. 278, and *Langles' Notice Chronologique de la Perse*, in the Tenth Volume of his Edit. of Chardin's *Travels*, p. 160.

26. خورشید. The Etymolog. Magnum correctly says: Κόρος, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Περσῶν, ὁ παλαιός. Ἡλίου γὰρ ἔχει τὸ ὄνομα. Κοῦρον γὰρ καλεῖν εἰώθασιν οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν Ἡλίον. Comp. *Reland's Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers.* § 57, p. 166, et seqq. *Zend-Avesta* by Kleuker,

^a Two of these have lately been made accessible to English readers, through the munificence of the Oriental Translation Fund, one of the most valuable institutions of our age and country. These are the *Sháh Námeḥ* of *Ferdousi*, by Mr. Atkinson, and *Mirkhond's History of the Early Kings of Persia*, by Professor Shea.—M.

Part III. p. 146, 159, 183, and the Appendix to it, B. II. part I. p. 85. According to *Strabo*, (XV. 3. 6.) Khor or Khorshid was the name of the river in the plain where Cyrus conquered the Medes, and from that river he received his new name.^a

27. כורש Isa. xliv. 28 ; xlv. 1. Ezra i. 1, 7, 8, &c.

28. The very different opinions held regarding the person called in Dan. vi. 1, "Darius the Mede," have been carefully examined by *Bertholdt* in the fourth Excursus to his Translation and Exposition of the book of Daniel, (Erlangen 1806). Following *Offenhaus* (Spicileg. Hist. Chronol. ii. 5. 43. p. 265,) he has made it highly probable, that Cyaxares II. is the monarch intended.

29. I. 177. Πᾶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲν παρῖσις.

30. Cyropæd. VIII. 7, 10.

31. This was the end of Cyrus, as described by Herodotus, I. 214. But Xenophon, who did not find such a circumstance in accordance with the plan of his historico-political romance, makes him die a natural death, during a journey in Persia. Cyrop. VIII. 7, 1. The traditions of the East are silent respecting any Persian king of the name of Cyrus. *Richardson* (Diction. Pers. Arab. and Eng. article, كِي) and *Volney* (Recherches, Part II. p. 293,) take Cyrus to be the same king who is called by Khondemir, Kai-

^a According to others, both this and the Georgian Kur took their name from the king.—M.

Khosroo or *Khosrev*, کي خسرو, and who is said to have been the third king of the Kaianian dynasty. See *D'Herbelot's* *Bibl. Orient. Art. Caian*.

32. Hence, according to Herodotus (III. 89,) he received from his people the title of *Father*; and consequently Xenophon might with truth represent him as such in the *Cyropæd.* (ch. VIII.) where he introduces Cyrus himself as describing the maxims of his government.

33. *Woltmann* (*Elements of Ancient Hist.* p. 293,) and *Gesenius* (*Comment. on Isaiah*, Part II. p. 48,) are of opinion that Cyrus was chiefly induced to permit the return of the Jews to their own country, and the re-erection of their temple, because they abhorred polytheism as much as he did; and there was, in so far, a resemblance between the Jewish and Persian religion. But in the edict of the king in reference to this business, which is given with diplomatic precision, (2 Chron. xxxvi. 23; Ezra i. 2;) Cyrus appears as a worshipper of Jehovah: "*Thus saith Cyrus, king of Persia: all kingdoms of the earth hath Jehovah the God of heaven given me, and he hath commanded me to build to him a temple in Jerusalem.*" In Ezra vi. 1—4, it is mentioned, that fifteen years after, in the time of Darius, a decree was found in the royal archives at Ecbatana, which shewed not only that Cyrus had commanded the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, but had provided for the cost of the erection out of the royal treasury. According to the narrative of Josephus, (*Antiqq.* XI. 1,

2,) the resolution of Cyrus was prompted by his perusal of those prophecies of Isaiah which relate to himself in chap. xlv. 28; xlv. 1.^a

34. *Lowth* remarks (in loc.) that Sardis and Babylon were, at the time of their capture by Cyrus, the richest cities in the world. Cræsus, who was celebrated for his wealth above all the monarchs of his age, gave to Cyrus, along with his treasures, an exact written account of the contents of every waggon-load, as it was conveyed away. They were stored up by Cyrus in the palace at Babylon. *Xenophon* Cyrop. B. VII. *Pliny* gives us the following account of the riches which Cyrus amassed in Asia (Hist. Nat. LXXXIII. Cap. 15 :) Jam Cyrus devicta Asia pondo XXXIV. millia (auri) invenerat, præter vasa aurea, aurumque factum, et in eo folia ac platanum vitemque. Qua victoria argenti quingenta millia talentorum reportavit, et craterem Semiramidis, cujus pondus quindecim talenta colligebat. Talentum autem Aegyptium pondo LXXX patere, Varro tradit. *Brerewood* (de Ponderib. Cap. 10,) reckons the value of this gold and silver to be equal to L.126,224,000 sterling.

35. אֲחֻשׁוּרוּשׁ. It was very probably not a name imposed at birth, but a surname or title,—seeing that in Scripture it is used of three different individuals. The first half of the name is plainly the Persian word [~]آخش, worth, value. The second half is thought to be

^a Rosenmüller here impugns the genuineness of that part of Isaiah's prophecy. But see the Appendix.

most likely the syllable, *ور* *ver*, which marks *possession* of a thing, as *جانور jānver*, “having or possessing life;” *رهور rahver*, “having a road or journey” (before him,) *i. e.* a traveller. The final letter *ش* *sh* is found at the end of several Persian words in the Bible. (See *Gesenius’* *Hebr. Lexicon*, p. 31 of the second edit. *Halle Encyclopæd.* Vol. II. p. 238, *note*, and *Von Bohlen’s* *Symbolæ ad Interpret. Sac. Cod. ex Ling. Pers.* p. 19.) The name *אחשוורוש* would thus be equivalent to “possessing worth, worthy.” *Simonis* (*Onomastic V. T.* p. 580,) takes the second half of the name for the abbreviated Persian word *بروشان berūshan*, *i. e.* nobleman, president, prince. *Jahn* again (*Bibl. Archæol.* Part II. Vol. 2, p. 244,) thinks of the Pehlevi word *Zvaresh*, *i. e.* a hero. As to the *Ahashverosh* mentioned in *Ezra* iv. 6, having been the same as *Cambyses*, see note 37 below.

36. *Heeren*, indeed, (*Ideen*, Part 1, p. 120) thinks, that in the picture which *Herodotus* (III. 2, et seqq.) has drawn of this king, much is to be laid to the account of the hatred of his informants, the Egyptian priests, who could never forgive *Cambyses* for having destroyed their influence. In *Ctesias* (cap. 9), he is presented in a less hateful light. But the facts, which there is no reason to suppose fabricated, do but too well justify the hatred, which not only the Egyptian priests, but the whole people must have borne towards a conqueror, who trampled under foot in the most reckless manner whatever they held most sacred.

37. In Ezra iv. 5, it is said, that the Samaritans had hindered the building of the temple, even under Cyrus, and till the time of Darius (Hystaspes); and between these two, the only kings mentioned are Ahashverosh and Artachshasta. Now, as from the time of Cyrus to Darius Hystapes, only two kings actually reigned, viz. Cambyses and Pseudo-Smerdis, it is evident that Ahashverosh and Cambyses are names of one and the same person. As to the error of Josephus, in reference to both these kings, see note 40 below.

38. Herodotus III. 61, et seqq.

39. ארתחששתא, doubtless from the ancient Persian ארתחשתר, *Artachshetr*, a name which appears in the Inscriptions at Nakshi-Rustam, and signifies *great* or *mighty king*. See *Silvestre de Sacy* *Memoires sur Diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, p. 100.

40. Josephus (Antiq. XI. 2, § 1, 2,) gives both the accusation of the Samaritans contained in Ezra iv. 9—16, and the reply of the king of Persia, which follows in ver. 17—22. But he incorrectly styles the then king, Cambyses; for, as we shewed at note 37, the monarch of that name is mentioned at verse 6, under the name of Ahashverosh, and consequently, this Artachshasta must have been Pseudo-Smerdis. Indeed Josephus seems to have entirely overlooked the 6th verse of that chapter.

41. Herodotus III. 61—79.

42. Herodotus III. 80—84, 118.

43. דריוש. This does not materially differ from the real native name of this king. In the cuneiform inscriptions found in the ruins of Persepolis, and co-

pied by Niebuhr, (Travels, Plate xxiv.) he is called, according to the deciphering of Grotefend (Heeren's Ideen, Part I. Div. 1, p. 595, 603.) *Darheush* : or, according to *Saint-Martin's* more probable orthography, (Journal Asiatique for Feb. 1823, p. 83,) *Dareïoush Vyshtaspouéa*, i. e. Darius, son of Vysh-taspo. In modern Persian, Darius is called داریا *Dārā* ; and داراب *Dārāb*. *Anquetil du Perron*, in his Essay on the Ancient Languages of Persia (in the Zend-Avesta by Kleuker, Vol. II. p. 49) thinks the name Darius was corrupted from the two Zend words, *Eanter-afesh*, which signify *one who was in the water*, or *has been found on the water*. But this etymology only suits the history of Darius Codomanus, who, like Moses, had been exposed on the water by his mother ; it has no reference to the other kings who previously bore the name of Darius. *Herodotus* says, (VI. 98) that the Persian *Δαρείος* is synonymous with the Greek *ἐξουσίης*, i. e. a *coercer* or one who restrains. The word seems to denote a *ruler* generally. *D'Herbelot* remarks, under the article *Dara* : Nom Persien, qui est plutôt appellatif que propre ; car *Dara* en langue Persienne signifie un *Souverain*, d'où vient que Saadi dans son *Bostan* parlant de Dieu, dit qu'il est bien-faisant, liberal, et pourvoyant aux necessitez d'un chacun : qu'il est le *Dara*, ou le Souverain des hommes, et le *Dara*, c'est-à-dire, celui qui les gouverne avec une tres-profonde sagesse, par laquelle il penetre les secrets les plus cachez. Other less probable conjectures as to the meaning of the

name Darius will be found in *Reland's* Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 61, p. 172 of Vol. II. of his Dissertt. Miscellan.

44. *Herodot.* III. 89—97. This division into provinces, and regulation of taxes, seems the same as is mentioned in Dan. vi. 1, 2, where, however, it is ascribed to Darius the Mede or Cyaxares II. See above, note 28.

45. *Herodot.* IV. 83, 85—143. V. 17—22.

46. *Herodot.* III. 93, 94, 102. IV. 44.

47. *Herodot.* V. 23—126. VI. 43—48. 94—119. VII. 1—4.

48. He married two of the daughters of Cyrus; and, previous to his last war with Greece, he named as his successor Xerxes, his son by one of them called Atossa, though he had at the time an older son by another wife. *Herodot.* III. 88. VII. 2.

49. Ezra iv. 28; v. 1, 2. Hagg. i. 2—15. Zech. ii. 5—17; iii. 1—10; iv. 1—14; viii. 1—17.

50. Xerxes is called in the cuneiform inscriptions on the ruins of Persepolis *Khshêrshê*, according to Grotefend (in Heeren's *Ideen*, I. 1, p. 588, 602), or *Khshêarsha* according to Saint Martin, *Journal Asiat.* Feb. 1823, p. 83. *Herodotus* says (VI. 98), that *Ξέρξης* is equivalent to *ἀγῆτος* a warrior. *Reland* (Dissert. de Vet. Ling. Pers. § 154, in his Dissertt. Miscell. Vol. II. p. 259) conjectures, that the name Xerxes is composed of the two Persian words شیر شاهی Shīr-shah, i. e. *Lion-King*. For he remarks at 260: Amant enim Orientales populi reges bellicosos

Leones dicere — — Ita ارسلان *Arslān* id est, *Leo*, dictus fuit Imperator tertius decimus ex dynastia Seldschukidarum, et alii. Nuperus rex nobilissimae insulae Selan appellabatur راج سیخ *Radscha Singa*,^a id est, *Rex Leo*, Singalaeis et Malaeis, quod ipsum *Xerxes* exprimit. In the book of Esther he is mentioned under the honorary title of אחשוורוש. Comp. note 35 above, and note 56 below.

51. מדהרו ועד-כוש, as is said in Esth. i. 1. The Ethiopians are mentioned by Herodotus (VII. 69, 70) among the nations that were compelled to furnish a contingent of troops to the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

52. In its progress through Thrace and Macedonia, this host was joined by several other armies, so that *Herodotus* (VII. 185—187) computes the entire number of fighting men at 2,641,710, and the whole (including the baggage and suttlers) at 5,000,000. It is inconceivable how this immense horde was supplied with provisions. *Diodorus Siculus* (X. 5), *Pliny* (Hist. Nat. LXXXII. 10), and *Ælian* (Var. Hist. LXIII. 3), do, indeed, make the number less, but still it does not fall short of 2,000,000. Herodotus is defended against the charge of exaggeration by *Heeren*, in his *Researches*, Part I. Div. 2, p. 559 note.

53. All these facts are related at length by a co-

^a This will remind the reader of the name of *Runjeet Sing*, the Maharaja of the Punjab, one of the most remarkable characters of our day. See *Jacquemont*, *Fairnes*, and other recent writers on India.—M.

temporary, Herodotus, in the last three books of his History, (VII. VIII. IX.)

54. *Ctesias* Pers. cap. 29. *Diod. Siculus* XI. 69. *Justin* III. 1.

55. *G. L. Oeder* in his Free Enquiry into certain Books of the Old Testament (edited by *Vogel*. Halle, 1771, 8vo.) has raised doubts as to the credibility of the book of Esther, and the probability of the events therein narrated. But his objections have been satisfactorily refuted by *Eichhorn*, in his *Introd. to the Old Test.* Part II. § 510, p. 641, by *E. A. Schulze* (*Dissert. de Fide Historica Libri Estheræ* in the *Biblioth. Hagan*, Class V. Fasc. 2), and by *J. A. Vos* in his *Oratio pro Libro Estheræ*. Utrecht, 1775, 4to. It is therefore the more surprising that *Corrodi* (*Elucidation of the Jewish and Christian Canon*, Vol. I. p. 67) and *De Wette* (*Introd. to the Old Test.*, p. 221) have denied to the book any historical value. *Bertholdt* again (*Hist. and Critical Introd. to the Writings of the Old and New Test.*, Part V. 1st Div. p. 2413) ranks this among the *poetical books* of the Old Testament, inasmuch as according to him it is either a real poem, or a history drawn from popular traditions and poetically set forth. It is no less strange that *Heeren* (*Ideen*, Part I. Div. 1, p. 156) should regard this book as a fictitious narrative, containing, however, a true picture of Persian manners; for he himself has often recourse to it as an authority, and says (at p. 497), “that the interior of the harem of Persian kings is no where better described than in the history of Esther.” But is it at all probable, that a later Jew of Palestine could have given in a fictitious

tale, a picture of the Persian court, which is acknowledged to be perfectly accurate? Is it likely that the feast of Purim, to which the events related in this book gave rise, and which we know to have been observed at a very remote period, (2 Macc. xv. 36), could have owed its origin to a mere fabrication? Many things in the book may have the air of improbability to modern Europeans, solely from their ignorance of the modes of thinking and acting peculiar to the kings and nobles of the East; for in the accounts brought us by travellers (especially those of the 17th century) who long frequented the Persian court, such as Della Valle, Chardin, Tavernier, &c. things are reported just as extraordinary, yea, in some respects, more so, than any to be found in the book of Esther. Of this there are some examples in the following notes; and indeed, who does not know that things the most true, are not always the most likely?^a

56. That the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther was Xerxes, has been shown on convincing evidence by *Justi* in a Dissert. which appeared in Part XV. of *Eichhorn's* Repertory for Bibl. and Orient. Liter., and has been reprinted, with additions, in *Justi's* Miscellaneous Dissertt. Samml. I. p. 38, et seqq. [See the Appendix.]

57. See note 37 above.

58. ושרי Esth. i. 9, et seqq. The name is pre-

^a It is the idea expressed in a French proverb:

Le vrai n'est pas toujours le vraisemblable.—M.

cisely the Persian **وشتي** which signifies *beauty, goodness*.

59. Comp. *Justi* loc. cit. p. 75. Das Alte und Neue Morgenland [by Rosenmüller.] Part III. p. 295, and note 97 below.

60. **הדסה** Esth. ii. 7. The name properly signifies *a myrtle*, like the Arab. **هدس**. Similar to this in sound is *Ἀτοσσα*, the name of a daughter of Cyrus and the wife of Hystaspis. Herodot. III. 133, 134. But it will not thence follow, that she was the same person as Esther; for Hadassah or Atossa may have been a common name of females in Persia.

61. **אסתר** Esth. ii. 7, probably from the Persian, **ستاره** *Stāreh*, “a star.” Comp. the “*sidere pulchrior*” of Horace, Book III. Ode 9. *Simonis* (Onomast. p. 581,) explains the name thus **آس تر** *Ās-ter*, Persian words which signify “a fresh or green myrtle,” in which case the name would be nearly of similar import with **הדסה** Hadassah [See the last note.] Some suppose that Esther was the same as Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, mentioned by Herodotus, IX. 108, 111.

62. This is expressed in the following manner in Esth. iii. 1: “He (the king) exalted him and placed his seat above all the princes who were about him.”

63. **המן** Esth. iii. 1, *i. e.* the Persian **همان** *hamān* “singular, unique.” From his being called

הַאֲגַגִּי the Rabbins make him out an Amalekite,^a Agag having been the name of a king of that tribe, 1 Sam. xv. 18, 20; Num. xxiv. 7. But Agag may likewise have been a Persian name. *Simonis* (Onomast. p. 105,) compares with it the Persian **اوج** *auj*, “high, exalted.” A preferable etymology might be the Persian **اكا** *aka*, **اك** *ak*, **اغا** *aga*, “Lord.”

64. Esth. iii. 6, 9, 13. It has been thought incredible, that any sovereign in his senses should have given his consent to the extirpation of a whole people residing in his dominions. And yet similar examples of frenzied barbarity are to be met with both in ancient and modern history. Thus Mithridates king of Pontus, gave to his satraps a secret order to massacre on a certain day all the Romans in his dominions without distinction of age or sex; and this order was so punctually executed that upwards of 80,000^b persons perished. Cicero, a contemporary, mentions this as a well-known fact, in two of his Orations, viz. *pro Lege Manil.*, Cap. 3, and *pro Flacco*, Cap. 25. See also *Valerius Maximus* IX. 2. *Plutarch* in *Sylla*, &c. A modern in-

^a “Perhaps the great destruction in the families of the Persian nobility, particularly of the seven great hereditary counsellors of the kingdom, during the Grecian war, may account, if any cause is wanting besides the caprice of a despot, for the elevation of a stranger to the rank of first vizier.” *Milman's Hist. of the Jews*, Vol. II. p. 18.—M.

^b This is Appian's statement; Plutarch raises the number to 159,000.—M.

stance, which occurred in the seventeenth century, is related by D'Arvieux, (*Voyages* Part I,) and also shews how far the revenge of an eastern despot may extend. Mehmed, Pacha of Zaid or Sidon, who had once received some affront from two brothers, Emirs of the Druses, not satisfied with procuring the assassination of the one, and attempting that of the other, entered the territory of the Druses with eight thousand men, for the avowed purpose of rooting out the entire tribe ; he caused all whom he could seize to be put to death, and none escaped the sword but those who fled, or took refuge in inaccessible fastnesses. It is more incredible still, that a monarch should, out of blind zeal for religion, cause thousands of the most industrious and opulent of his subjects to be murdered or expatriated ; and yet modern times offer examples of this in the conduct of Ferdinand the Catholic, who banished above 300,000 Jews from Spain, and of Louis XIV, who, after causing a great many Protestants to be butchered in cold blood, drove 200,000 of them out of his kingdom.^a

^a Some of the cases referred to by Rosenmüller are not exactly in point. The Roman citizens massacred by Mithridates were in a situation somewhat analogous to that of the English *detenus* in France on the rupture after the peace of Amiens ; the law of nations was equally violated in both cases. Then as to the Druses, they were an independent people, to whom their vindictive aggressors would give no quarter. The instances adduced from the modern history of Europe are more applicable, and, unfortunately for the honour of human nature, they do not stand alone ; the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, the treatment of the aboriginal inhabitants of South America, and indeed of aborigines generally, (even after their

65. In fixing the day *according to the lot* (Esth. iii. 7), Haman acted in complete conformity to the modern practice of the Persian kings and nobles, who undertake nothing of importance till they have first consulted the astrologers, as to the day and hour indicated as fortunate by the planets. See *Das Alte und Neue Morgenland*, Part III. No. 709, p. 301, et seqq.

66. That capital sentences once pronounced by the king were irrevocable, also appears from Dan. vi. 15. Comp. *Brissonius* de Reg. Persar. Principatu, § 130, p. 185.

67. Esth. iii. 12—16. It has been thought unlikely, that if the design of a general massacre of the Jews had been made known so long before the period, they

subjection) by European colonists; the Parisian massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day; the persecution of the Jews over the whole world, will suggest themselves to every reader. An illustration from the conduct of the Turks to their Greek subjects has been furnished by De Peyssonnel in his remarks on Baron Du Tott's Memoirs. In describing the character of the celebrated Hassan Pacha, who, in the war of 1770 between Russia and Turkey, became eminent as a naval commander, he says of him "He preserved the Greeks *when it was deliberated in the council* [of the Grand Signior] *to exterminate them entirely* as a punishment for their defection, and to prevent their future rebellion—he *obtained for them a general amnesty*, which he took care should be carefully observed, and this brought back a number of emigrants, and prevented the total desertion of that numerous class of subjects which an unseasonable rigour would have occasioned, and which must have depopulated the provinces, rendered a great part of the country uncultivated, and deprived the fleet of a nursery of sailors."—M.

should have taken no measures towards their own safety. But it is quite possible that they may have done so, without the historian deeming it necessary to mention it; and one object which Haman may have had in view in publishing the decree so long before, was probably the expectation that the property of those who sought safety in flight, would thereby the sooner, and more easily come into possession of the crown.

68. Esth. vi. 1. Of the custom which still obtains in modern times, for Eastern kings to cause the annals of the kingdom to be read to them, the reader will find illustrations in the *Alte und Neue Morgenland*, Part III. p. 308, et seqq.

69. Esth. ix. 5—16. That the Jews had it in their power to put to death so large a number of their enemies as 75,000, is the more credible from the circumstance, that after Mordecai became grand vizier, his countrymen became the objects of universal dread throughout the empire. Esth. viii. 17; ix. 2, 3, 4.

70. The word פֹּר is in the book itself (ch. iii. 7), explained by the Hebrew גֹּרֶל, the lot. The modern Persian has the similar words پاره and بهره *part, portion, share*,—sors.

71. *Diodor. Siculus*, XI. 71—77; XII. 34—64. *Ctesias Pers.* 30—43. *Plutarch* in Artaxerxes.

72. *Bertholdt* has shewn by cogent arguments, that the Artachshasta of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, could be no other Persian king than Artaxerxes Longimanus. *Introd. to the Old and New Test.* Tom. III. p. 1014, et seqq. Josephus commits

the strange blunder of making him to be Xerxes (Ant. XI. 5, 6), in which it is surprising to see him followed by Jahn in his *Bibl. Archæol.* Part II. Vol. I., p. 259. In that case Xerxes would be mentioned in the Hebrew books under the two-fold name of Ahashverosh and Artachshasta, a circumstance not very probable.

73. נתנינם, Esth. vii. 24, literally *given up, consecrated*.

74. Neh. i. 3.

75. תרשתא. Castellus in his *Lex. Heptaglott.* derives this title from the Persian ترشي ترش *tursh, turshi*, which properly denotes “sour,” then “dark, harsh.”

76. See Ctesias, Pers. 44—48. Diod. Sicul. XII. 71.

77. The nature of this punishment is described in 2 Macc. xiii. 56.

78. See Ctesias Pers. 48—61. Diodor. Sic. XIII. 37, 38, 45, 46, 51, 108. Xenophon in *Hellenic.* I, I. § 4, 6, 9, 15—18. II. § 3, 4. III. § 4, 6—9. IV. § 1—3.

79. It was probably under the reign of Ochus, or Darius Nothus, that occurred the marriage of the Jewish priest Manasseh with a daughter of Sanballat, the Persian commander, who favoured the Samaritans to the prejudice of the Jews, whence occasion was given to the building of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. *Josephus* indeed says, (Ant. XI. 7, 8), that this happened much later, namely, in the reign of Darius Codomannus, the co-temporary of

Alexander the Great. But Prideaux has made it very apparent (Connexion between the Old and New Testament, Part I.) that the marriage in question took place under the second governorship of Nehemiah, who seems to allude to it in ch. xiii. 28. Josephus places the date of this marriage, and the erection of the Samaritan temple, too near each other. Comp. *Jahn's Archæol.* Part II. Vol. I. p. 272.

80. The authorities for this period are *Ctesias Persica*, cap. 57 et seqq. *Plutarch's* Lives of Artaxerxes, Pelopidas and Agesilaus. *Xenophon's* Hellenica, III. IV. V., with his seven books on the Expedition of the Younger Cyrus (Ἀνάβασις Κύρου) and *Diod. Sicul.* XIV. XV.

81. *Joseph. Antiq.* XI. 7.

82. *Josephus* and *Hecataeus* in the first of the books against Apion, § 22. *Eusebius* in his Chronic. at the 105th Olympiad. *Solinus* Polyhist. cap. 48. *Syncellus* Chron. p. 256.

83. *Diodor. Sicul.* XVI. 22, et seqq. XVII. 5. *Ælian*, Var. Hist. VI. 8. IV. 8.

84. On the History of the Reign of Darius Codomannus, see *Diod. Sicul.* XVI. 89, et seqq. XVII. 1—4, 8—16; 39, 53—64. *Arrian's* Hist. of Alexander I.—III. *Plutarch's* Alexander. *Justin*, XI. XII.

85. See above, at note 44.

86. سترپ *Sitrap*, is marked in the Persian Dictionaries as obsolete. Comp. *Brissonius* de Reg. Persar. Principatu. Lib. I. § 168, p. 234. Edit. of Ledorlin. [See the Appendix.]

87. III. 89—97.

88. אחשדרפניא, Dan. vi. 1. The word is composed of ^آآخش *ākhash*, *worth, dignity*, (see note 35 above,) and دربان *derbān*, i. e. properly a door-keeper, or (in reference to the attendance at court) a chamberlain. Perhaps the second half of the word is the Persian سترب *satrap*, (see note 86 above) with the termination ַ.

89. With this agrees *Josephus*, Antiq. XI. 6, 1.

90. Ideen, Part I. Div. 1, p. 175.

91. *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 181.

92. סרבין. Dan. vi. 3. סרַב seems abbreviated from the Persian سرکار *sarcār*, “an overseer.”

93. Comp. what is said in the text (p. 220,) of the seven Persian nobles, who murdered the Pseudo-Smerdis, and reserved to themselves the right of approaching the king at all times, without being announced. These seven counsellors we likewise find mentioned under the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus, the grandson of Darius Hystaspes, (Ezra vii. 12—14) where it is said, that Ezra received from Artaxerxes and the seven counsellors permission to return to Jerusalem with as many of his countrymen as were disposed to accompany him.

94. “The number *seven*,” says *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 490, note, “is of such frequent occurrence in the Institutes of ancient Persia, that it was not improbably a sacred number. Something similar is found among other Asiatic nations; as for example the Mongols,

with whom the number *nine* is sacred. *Pallas* on the Mongols, p. 198."

95. סריסים.

96. *Herodotus* VII. 7, 8.

97. So says *Chardin*, in the description of the nuptial feast of a Persian prince, at which he was present when at Tiflis. Travels, Vol. II. p. 116, Edit. of Langlès. "The feast took place on a terrace of the palace, which was inclosed with fine carved lattice-work. It was covered with a pavilion, which rested upon five pillars. This tent-palace was lined with gold and silver brocade, velvet, and fine painted linen, and, when lighted up with a great many torches, presented a very beautiful appearance, shewing like figured wainscot." See Plate XXXIX. of his Travels. *Della Valle's* Description of a banquet, which Shah Abbas I. gave to the grandees of his kingdom, on the news of a victory over the Turks, affords a lively resemblance to the festival of Ahasuerus. Travels, Part II. The circumstance mentioned in Esth. i. 3, finds an exact parallel in his account of another banquet, "where," says he, "though the drinking cup was always going round, no one was compelled to drink more than he pleased."

98. See *Chardin's* Plates, No. LXIII., and *Ker Porter's*, No. L.

99. "The seat of the Persian king was not a throne, according to our ideas of one, but simply a chair, (called by the Greeks *θρόνος*,) yet so high that it required a foot-stool (*ὑποπόδιον*.) It was made of gold, or at least inlaid with that metal, and covered

with splendid tapestry ; and no one save the king might sit down on it under pain of death. See *Brisson*, § 75, 76, p. 102. It is often found pictured on the Persepolitan monuments, and always of the same fashion. Comp. *Esth.* v. 1, 2." *Heeren*, loc. cit. p. 296, note.

100. *Zend. Avesta*, by Kleuker, Part III. p. 204. Xerxes used it in offering to the sun, and threw it as a sin-offering into the sea. *Herodot.* VII. 54.

END OF CHAP. VII.

APPENDIX.

ADDENDA TO CHAP. I.—III.^a

The Mount of the Gods, (p. 19, 42.)—Another illustration of this topic may be drawn from the *Kuen-lun* of the Chinese, in Eastern Thibet, a mountain-chain of immense height, which, in their mythological geography, is designated “the king of mountains, the highest point of all the earth, the mountain which touches the pole, and supports the heavens;” and, according to the expression of Abel Remusat, is the Olympus of the Buddhic Divinities. The classical reader will be reminded of the

“Cœlifer Atlas

Axem humero portans stellis ardentibus aptum.”

The Caucasian mountain Al-bordsh, so often mentioned in the text, is commonly written by English travellers *Elburz* or *Elborus*, in French *Elbrouz*. There is another of the same name in Persia.

Itinerary Measures.—To the works referred to in p. 45, add *Chelius’* Mass-und-Gewichtsbuch, (Frankfort 1830,)—a work of authority among the Germans. Also, the Tables of Löhmann, which are in course of publication at Leipzick.

The more specific reference to Sir R. K. Porter’s Travels in the foot-note at p. 31, is to Vol. I. p. 511. His words are

^a Each of these Chapters is followed by its own Appendix: viz. Chap. I. at p. 35: Chap. II. at p. 91: Chap. III. at p. 109.

(in describing the Cave of the Forty Daughters :) “The term *forty*, when attributed to any collection of objects, is not always by these Eastern people intended to declare that precise number, but rather to express any indefinite calculation, whether of persons or things; and generally with the hyperbolical view of insinuating that the number is beyond calculation. Hence, both at Ispahan and Persepolis, we hear of a palace of *Forty Pillars*; here we have the Cave of *Forty Daughters*; and in the Arabian Nights Tales we are told a story of *Forty Thieves*.”

Eden and Paradise, (p. 46, 98.)---Other recent German works on this head are: *Kaiser* (of Erlangen,) Comment. in priora Geneseos Capp. Noremb. 1829. *Werner* (C. G.) on the three first chapters of Genesis. Tübingen 1829. *Pustkuchen* Urgeschichte der Menschheit, 1821; and Bibl. Urgeschichte, 1823.

While the foregoing sheets were passing through the press, I received the work of a Königsberg Professor, *Bohlen*, entitled “Die Genesis historisch-kritisch erläutert.” Königsberg, 1835. He has acquired some distinction as a Persian and Sanscrit scholar, and has written a book on Ancient India, in its relations with Egypt. His hypothesis as to the site of Paradise differs somewhat from all those we have enumerated in the Synoptical Table at p. 91. He identifies Eden with the country of the same name sometimes described as in the Assyrian, sometimes as in the Chaldean empire (according to the particular period of history) but really situated in Northern Media, and mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 23, as trading with Tyre, and in 2 Kings xix. 12, Isa. xxxvii. 12, as “Eden in Thelassar,” (Elassar, Gen. xiv. 1.) He even pretends to fix the precise locality of Paradise at Rhages (the city of Media described in the present work of Rosenmüller, p. 170,) whose name he says denotes in Sanscrit, *royal* (râjavân) It is now called راي, *Rai*, which is said to be the word used in Russian and other languages for *Paradise*. Rhages is more-

over mentioned under the name of *Ragham*, in the descriptions of Paradise found in the Zend-Avesta. Finally, the country of Northern Media and Western Bactriana formed the ancient Aria (Airyo) or Ariana (Airyana,^a) i. e. *Iran*, a name which Bohlen conjectures may have been the original designation of the region of Paradise, q. d. עֶרֶן *Eren*, and he thinks the *resh* has been changed into *daleth* so as to form עֵדֶן *Eden*! He in fact denies the Shemitic origin of the word Eden altogether. But all this is very far-fetched and unsatisfactory; and when he proceeds to connect with the locality presupposed, the courses of the four rivers, he is compelled to have recourse to the idea of the whole being a *poetical mythos*,—the ready refuge of neological expositors on the occurrence of any difficulty.

The Name of Paradise, (p. 46, note 1.)—The following are the only passages in the Old Testament where the word פֶּרֶדֶס *Pardes* occurs, from which the Seventy formed the Greek Παράδεισος, and the Vulg. the Latin *Paradisus*.

SONG OF SOLOMON, iv. 13.

שְׁלַחֶיךָ פֶּרֶדֶס רְמוֹנִים עִם פְּרֵי מִגְדִּים
כִּפְרִים עִם־נָרְדִּים :

Thy plants *are* an orchard (*pardes*) of pomegranate-trees,
with delicious fruits.

Al-henna with spikenard.

ECCLES. ii. 5.

עָשִׂיתִי לִי גִנוֹת וּפְרֻדִּים
וְנִטְעֵתִי בָהֶם עֵץ כָּל־פְּרִי :

I made me gardens and orchards (*pardesim*),

And I planted in them trees of all kinds of fruit.

^a By others written *Eeriend*. See the present volume, pp. 51, 52. *Iran* is the favourite name given by modern Persians to their native country.

NEH. ii. 8.

ואגרת אל-אסף שמר הפרדס אשר למלך — :

And a letter unto Asaph, the keeper of the forest (*pardes*) which is the king's.

The eminent Hebrew scholar *Ewald* in the Prolegg. to his Comment. on Canticles, (Gotting. 1826, p. 21,) derives פרדס from the Sanscrit *Paradesa*, which, says he, signifies a *pleasant country*, (see our foot-note *b* at p. 49.) But *Rosenmüller*, in his Scholia on Canticles (Leipzig 1830, p. 368,) thinks that word has rather the signification of *another*, i. e. a *foreign country*, and he refers, in proof of this, to the Sanskrit poem Ghata-Karpara, verse 7. Yet the two ideas are not incompatible; for “the land of the blessed” was thought to be distant, as well as fair.

The Phasis and Colchis, (p. 54, 75.)—In the account of the Phasis in p. 54, I inadvertently put in a parenthesis after “Iberia,” the words “the ancient Colchis.” But, strictly speaking, the ancient Iberia lay between Colchis on the west and Albania on the east; while the native writers comprehend under the modern name Iberia, the four kingdoms of Kartueli, Imeritia,^a Mingrelia and Guriel,^b of which the two last are understood to correspond to the Colchis of antiquity. See Eugene the Archimandrite's Description of Georgia, in the Annales des Voyages, Vol. XII. p. 74. *Balbi's* account of the course of the Phasis is as follows: (Geographie, Paris 1834, p. 784,) “The Rion, so famous under the name of *the Phasis*, in Greek mythology, on account of the Argonautic expedition, and which the ancients by mistake reckoned one of the largest rivers of Asia, has its source to the east of Mount Elboorz, traverses Imerethi, separates Mingrelia from Gouriél, and enters the Black Sea not far from Poti.” The

^a Otherwise written Imerethi—supposed to be a corruption of “Iberia.”

^b In doubting the correctness of the orthography “Guriel” (p. 75,) I was misled by Malte-Brun.

description of this river given by Gibbon in his account of the Colchian war, (History ch. XLII.) is only applicable to its ancient condition, when it was navigable much higher up than it is now. See Strabo, Lib. XI., and Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 6, 4. His delineation of the Colchians, however, will be found interesting, and in the main correct. Previous to their conquest by Russia, we are assured by Klaproth that the *dadian* or prince of Mingrelia often went from one village to another, accompanied by his court, and remained there as long as he could find poultry and wine; when all was consumed, he decamped for another place. The poverty of the court was so great that no one had money enough to change a Turkish ducat of the value of a few shillings. Poti, a maritime fortress situated at the mouth of the Phasis, and commanding the navigation of the river, was one of the principal causes of the last war between Russia and Turkey. By the treaty of Adrianople, (dated 14th September 1829,) the Russians are put in possession of the coast of the Black Sea from the Danube to beyond Poti, and as far as Batoumi, so that Imeritia, Mingrelia, and the greater part of Gurriel, are now under their sovereignty. The Russian governor resides at Kutais, (K'houthaïssi.) In most of the districts of the Caucasus the tenure of obedience is very insecure; and so confident are the mountaineers of the strength of their fastnesses, that they often declare the Russians can reach them only "as the rain does," namely, by coming from the clouds.^a But in the valley of the Phasis the Russians make their mastery to be felt. "The king of Imirethi," we are informed by recent travellers,^b "rebelled against his new sovereign, was expelled, and his territories were united to the crown. The

^a A document lately appeared, which has excited no small interest in the political world. It is an appeal addressed to Britain and France from the Circassians, and other tribes of the Caucasus, against the domination of Russia. The struggles of the mountaineers of Daghistan and other eastern districts, will be found described in an official report of the war made to the Russian government, of which there is a notice in the *Journal Asiatique*, for 1832, and the *Athenæum* for 1833, p. 131.

^b *Smith and Dwight's* (American Missionaries) *Researches in Armenia*, &c. London 1834, p. 154-6.

princes of Mingrelia and Gooriel still hold their places, acknowledging allegiance to Russia; but their countries are filled with Cossack police-stations." * * * * * Gouriel contains about 30,000 inhabitants, Mingrelia 40,000, and Imirethi 81,000. The former insecurity to person and property has given place to perfect quiet. Measures are taken to put an end to the slave-trade. The condition of the peasantry has been improved. The scenes above described by Klaproth are no longer permitted. Still there is no education; drunkenness and unchastity prevail to an incredible extent, and the sacredness of an oath is unknown.

The Oxus or Jihoon, (p. 55.)—The following is Burnes' description, (*Travels into Bokhara*. London, 1834. Vol. II. p. 186.)

"The Oxus or Amoo is a river of considerable magnitude and classical celebrity. It was known to the Greeks under the designation of Oxus; the Asiatics call it Jihoon and Amoo. Jihoon means a *flood*, and is used in all the Turkish and Persian works that treat upon these countries^a; but the inhabitants on its banks now speak of the river under the name of Amoo, calling it *Duryā-i-Amoo*, the River, or literally the Sea of Amoo. I am not aware of any meaning that attaches to this title. The Oxus rises in the tablelands of Pamere, and is formed by a variety of rivulets which collect in that elevated region of Asia. It is stated that four rivers, which flow in opposite directions, issue from the vicinity of the lake Surikol; these are the Oxus, Sir or Jaxartes, one of the heads of the Indus, and a portion of the waters of Thibet. The Oxus waters the rich valley of Budukhshan, where it receives the river of that name, the greatest of its tributaries, and is afterwards joined by a variety of smaller streams from Koondooz and Hissar, which have been describ-

^a The late king of Persia, Futteh Ali Shah, spoke of it to Burnes under this name, "and seemed to consider it the greatest river in the world." Vol. II. p. 135. This traveller crossed it on his way from Balkh to Bokhara, Vol. I. p. 249, and re-crossed it on his return, lower down, before entering the Desert of the Toorkmuns, Vol. II. p. 1—3.

ed by Mr. Macartney. It winds among mountains, and, approaching within twenty miles of the town of Khoolloom, and much nearer than appears in our maps, passes about half a degree to the north of Balkh. There are no hills between it and that city, as have been represented. It here enters upon the desert by a course nearly north-west, fertilizes a limited tract of about a mile on either side, till it reaches the territories of Orgunje or Khiva, the ancient Kharasm, where it is more widely spread by art, and is then lost in the Sea of Aral. I will not permit the much disputed subject of the Oxus having terminated at a former period in the Caspian instead of the Aral, to lead me into a digression on that curious point. I have only to state, after an investigation of the subject, and the traditions related to me, as well as much inquiry among the people themselves, that I doubt the Oxus having ever had any other than its present course." This opinion differs from the account of Rosenmüller (p. 57) who seems to have adopted the conclusions of *Ritter* and *Wahl*. *Burnes* thinks the dry river beds between Astrabad and Khiva are the remains of canals. Had he been enabled to extend his journey as far as Khiva, his judgment respecting the mouth of the Oxus might have been entitled to some weight; as it stands, it is mere conjecture.

The Tigris and Euphrates, (p. 57, et seqq.)—The accounts of travellers vary exceedingly as to the comparative length, width, depth, &c. of these twin rivers. A late writer, Mr. James Bell, has a long rambling note on the subject in his edition of *Rollin's Ancient Hist.* Vol. I. p. 458, et seqq.

The Euphrates, (p. 59, et seqq.)—Ewald, in his *Crit. Gramm.* p. 569, denies that פרת is a word of Hebrew origin; but even if we reject the etymology, which derives it from פרה *to be fruitful*, we have the Arabic ^{فـرّات} *very sweet water*; hence it is also called in Turkish مراد صوي *Morād Sūi*, "the

‘water of desire.’” *Simonis*, in his *Onomasticon*, thinks the prefix, in the Greek form *Εὐφράτης* is the Persian  water, but it is simply the Aleph Prosthetic. The ideas of the ancients, as to the sources of the river, will be found in *Herodot.* I. 180. *Strabo*, XI. 521. *Ptolem.* V. 13. *Plin.* V. 20. *Quint. Curt.* V. 1, 13. Comp. *Salmasius* on *Solinus*, cap. 37. *Celarii* Not. Orb. Ant. II. p. 318.

Captain Chesney's Expedition.—Public attention is at present directed towards this celebrated river, on account of the attempt which is in progress to establish, by means of it, a speedier communication with our possessions in India. That such an attempt can be attended with *permanent* success, must be beyond the expectation of all but the most sanguine. The originator of the scheme is *Captain Chesney*, from whose Report on the capabilities of the river we give the following extract:—“The scenery above Hit (in itself very picturesque) is greatly heightened, as one is carried along the current, by the frequent recurrence, at very short intervals, of ancient irrigating aqueducts, which, owing to the windings, appear in every variety of position, from the foreground of the picture to the distant part of the landscape; these beautiful specimens of art and durability, are attributed by the Arabs to the times of the ignorant, meaning (as is expressly understood) the Persians, when fire-worshippers, and in possession of this part of the world; they literally cover both banks, and prove that the borders of the Euphrates were once thickly inhabited by a people far advanced, indeed, in the application of hydraulics to domestic purposes of the first and greatest utility, the transport of water. These speaking monuments of other times, have, as may be supposed, suffered in various degrees during the lapse of so many ages of partial or entire neglect, and the greater portion is now, less or more, in ruins; but some have been repaired and kept up for use, either to grind corn or to irrigate, having a modern wheel at-

tached, on the ancient, simple, and most efficient model; the whole being, in some instances, sufficiently well preserved to show clearly the original application of the machinery.

“ But what most concerns the subject of this Memoir is the existence of a parapet wall or stone rampart in the river just above the several aqueducts; in general there is one of the former attached to each of the latter; and almost invariably between two mills on the opposite banks, one of them crosses the stream from side to side, with the exception of a passage left in the centre for boats to pass up and down. The object of these subaqueous works (mistaken by Alexander the Great for means of defence against his irresistible legions) would appear to be exclusively to raise the water sufficiently at low seasons to give it an impetus, as well as a more abundant supply to the wheels; and their effect at those times is to create a fall in every part of the width, save the opening left for commerce, through which the water rushes with a moderately irregular surface. These dams were probably from four to eight feet high originally, but they are now frequently a bank of stones disturbing the evenness of the current.

“ Ten miles below the town of Hit, the last of these irrigating mills and artificial barriers is passed, and a few miles lower the double range of hills is nearly lost; the country becomes comparatively flat, having fewer hills, with some scattered trees along the river, and but little brushwood; the river winds less, and instead of rocks and pebbles, the bed is of sand or mud, the current *duller* and *deeper*, with an appearance altogether approaching that of the Danube as it passes between Widdin and Silestra, but much more animated; the banks (which are either perpendicular or in steps) being covered with Arab villages of mats, or tents, almost touching each other, with numerous flocks of goats, sheep, and some cattle feeding near them; also beautiful mares clothed and piqueted close to the tents, their masters strolling about armed, and the poorer males or slaves busily employed raising water by means of numerous water-pullies, all in ope-

ration, and worked on this part of the Euphrates by horses or bullocks going down an inclined plane, pulling a rope over a roller so as to elevate a large leather vessel, to the bottom of which, at one corner, is attached a long leathern spout, which is curved upwards as the vessel ascends, but being drawn out by the tightening of a cord (which works of itself) as the machine reaches the level, the contents are thus discharged into a trough coated with bitumen, and the vessel then descends to fill once more, which is accomplished by the time the animal has ascended to the top of the inclined plane, and has turned round to go down it again. These bullock-rollers have either a brick or earthen shaft descending to the river's edge, and large enough to contain two, three, or four vessels all at work at the same time, with as many animals, and a man to each; they appear to have been known and used in Mesopotamia from the earliest times, and the river's bank is quite covered with them all at work, and producing all the fertility of Egypt, as far inwards as irrigation is extended, beyond which the country is, generally speaking, a desert."

The City of Enoch, (p. 86).—In confirmation of the views advanced in the foot-note at p. 87, we notice, shortly, the objections of Rosenmüller. *First*, "In all other places of the Old Testament עִיר signifies *a city*." But, not to mention Ps. xxxi. 22. Job. xxiv. 12. 2 Kings x. 25, where the meaning is at least doubtful, עִיר in a great many passages, though rendered by our European word *city*, does, in no respect, correspond to the ideas we attach to that term, as implying "a large, populous town;" it simply denotes any collection of human habitations, however small or scattered. Comp. Josh. xv. *passim*. And even if we reject the etymology of עִיר from the Arab. غَار ^ف to be deep or hollow, and rather prefer, with

Gesenius, to connect it with غَار ^س fervor, turba, that derivation is by no means inconsistent with our supposition as to the nature of Cain's defensive erection for himself and family;

for then the radical notion of the word would be, “an assemblage of human beings living in society.” But it is farther objected, that the record says כְּנָעַן *and he built* Chanoch ; therefore it must have been a city. Had the learned author looked at Gen. ii. 22, he would have seen the very same term used, in reference to the moulding of Adam’s rib into a woman ; so that it may obviously import *formation* or *construction* of any kind. Finally, as to the assertion, that “the giving a name to the structure, proves it to have a city,”—the early history of the eastern people abundantly shews, that it was customary to give names, not only to caves (e. g. Machpelah, Gen. xxiii. 9) but to wells (e. g. Beersheba, Gen. xxi. 31), and other less important objects.

The Genealogical Table of Nations (p. 99).---On the subject of this chapter, a singular work lately appeared, which seems to have attracted little notice in the country where it was published, but has already found a place in the bibliographical manuals of the Germans, who eagerly welcome every new and startling hypothesis by whomsoever propounded. The title is *Origines Biblicæ* ; or, Researches into Primæval History. By C. T. Beke, Vol. I. London 1834. He takes for his text the division of the earth among the sons of Noah as described in the tenth chapter of Genesis ; and, by dint of torturing words, and even letters (for in all he finds some meaning) he lands himself in such conclusions as the following, viz. that the Book of Genesis was not originally written in Hebrew, and that Moses was neither the author nor compiler—that the Abrahimites changed their language when in slavery ; that *Mizraim* was not Egypt, as is universally believed, but that part of Arabia which lies between the Gulf of Akkaba and Suez—in short, that our commonly-received notions of Oriental Geography are altogether erroneous, the Seventy Translators having deceived the world for ages. The “harvest of the river” mentioned by Isaiah, he gravely imagines to have been the white sand from which glass was manufactured ! Parts of the work seem to have been previously communicated by the

author to the "Royal Society of Literature." A review of it by the celebrated Hebrew scholar *Ewald*, appeared in the *Göttingen Gel. Anzeig.* for 1834, which, in the laconic phrase of a German writer,^a contains *blos tadel*, nothing but censure.

On the Origin of Certain Nations, (p. 109).---Compare with these traditions the account given by Abulfaraj in his *Annals*. To the sons of Shem fell the middle of the earth, viz. Palestine, Syria, Assyria, Samaria, (Singer or Shinar?) Babel (or Babylon) Persia and Hégiāz (Arabia.) To the sons of Ham was assigned the entire region of Teiman or the South, viz. Africa, Nigritia, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Sindia, (i. e. the country west of the Indus) and India (i. e. the east of the Indus). To the sons of Japhet was allotted Garbia (Jarb) or the North, viz. Spain, France, the countries of the Greeks, Sclavonians, Bulgarians, Turks, and Armenians.

The following is the entire passage of the original, from *Pococke's* Edition of the *Hist. Dynast.* p. 17:—

فالغ بن عابر ولد له اربعو وعمره علي الراي
السبعيني مائة وثلثون سنة وعلي راى اليهود
ثلثون سنة—وجميع ايامه ثلثماية وثلث
واربعون سنة—وفي سنة مائة واربعين لغالغ
فلغت الارض اي قسمت قسمة ثانية بين ولد
نوح—فصار لبني شام وسط المعمورة فلسطين
والشام واثور وسامر (سامرة al) وبابل وفارس

^a *Fuhrmann Handbuch d. Neuesten Theolog. Literatur.* (brought down to September 1835). Part I. p. 122.

والحجاز—ولبني حام التيمن كله اي الجنوب
افريقية والزنج ومصر والنوبة والحبشة والسند
والهند—ولبني يافث الجربيا اي الشمال الاندلس
والافرنجة وبلاد اليونانيين والصقالبة والبلغار
والترك والارمن

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

Sect. I. *Riphat*. (p. 113).—The Keri reading in 1 Chron. i. 6, is רִיפַת. The Chald. and Massora have רִיפַת, which the Syr. also has in Gen. x. 3. The Samaritan MSS. have רִיפַת with *daleth*, excepting Nos. 64, 66, 127, 363 (Houbig.) of Kennicott which have ר. And 23 of Kennicott's Heb. MSS., have also רִיפַת.—The Chaldee and Arabic Verss., take Riphath for France. The Chronicon Alexand. makes it the country of the Garamantæ, and Eusebius that of the Sauro-matæ. The words of *Josephus* (see note 3 to this sect. p. 115) are 'Ριφάθης 'Ριφαθαίους ᾧκισέ τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καλουμένους. *Pomponius Melâ* (l. l.) says the ancient inhabitants of Paphlagonia were called Riphætæi or Riphaces. Comp. *Bellermann*, Handbuch II. 395. *Bohlen* (on Genesis, Königsberg, 1835), thinks with *Schulthess* (note 3), of the Rhibii, or of Mount Niphâtes in Armenia.

Sect. II. *Gomer*, (p. 116).---In Gen. x. 2, the Jerusalem Targum, has for Gomer גִּרְיָא (the Africans or the Phrygians). The Arab. Vers. has "the Turks." *Josephus* thought the Galatians were from Gomer; he says (Ant. I. 6, 1) Τοῦς νῦν ἂφ' Ἑλλήνων Γάλατας καλουμένους, Γομαρεῖς δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἔκτισε, κ. τ. λ. The Syrian opinions will be found in *Assemani* (Bibl. Orient. Tom. III. P. 2, p. 747), who identifies Gomer with the Garamæi of Ptolemy (6. 1) a people of Assyria or Kourdistan. *Wahl* in his work on Asia (Vol. I., p. 274) compares Gamir, the Armenian name of Cappadocia. But the most probable conjecture is that which connects Go-

mer with the Cimmerians (Κιμμέριοι), especially that branch who settled in the Crimea (Arab. قُرْم *Kirim*), whence

بحر القرم *Bahr-el-kirim*, a name of the Kimmerian or Euxine Sea. That the Gomerians and Celts (Kymr) were the same people, is an opinion maintained with great erudition by *Faber* in his *Origin of Pagan Idolatry*, Vol. III. B. 6., chap. iii. p. 447. With the *Gumrah* mentioned by *Reineggs* (see above p. 118), compare *Gümry* in Armenia, mentioned in *Smith* and *Dwight's* *Researches*, p. 192, 103.

Sect. III. *Ashkenaz*, (p. 119).---The supposition of *Hasse*, mentioned in p. 120, viz. that *Ashkenaz* gave name to the Euxine Sea, is embraced by *Dr. Hales* in his *Chronology* (Second Edit. Vol. I. p. 353) "Forgetting its etymology in process of time, the Greeks considered it as a compound term in their own language, Α-ξενος, signifying *inhospitable*; and thence metamorphosed it into Ευ-ξενος, *Eu-xenus*, *very hospitable*."^a *Josephus* says (Ant. I. 6, 1), Ἀσχανάζους Ἀσχανάζους ὤκισεν, οἱ νῦν Ῥηγῖνες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλοῦνται. But there is no trace of any such people in the extant geographies of the Greeks. The Arab. in Gen. x. 3, has ^{و - - -} (أَلْعَزَقَةُ) —الصقالبة which commonly designates the Sclavi or Sklavonians.

Sect. IV. *Gog and Magog*, (p. 121).—*Joseph Wolff*, the well known missionary to the Jews, thinks he has discovered the posterity of *Gog and Magog* in the *Hazarahs*, a Mongol race of plundering barbarians, who dwell on the south-eastern frontier of *Khorasán*. See his *Researches among the Jews, Mohammedans, and other Sects*, Lond. 1835. *Michaelis* (Spicileg. Geog. Part I. p. 24, and Suppl. ad Lex. Heb. No. 1352) had before him placed the *Mago-*

^a In this opinion both *Hasse* and *Hales* had been anticipated by *Bochart*, who was followed by *Wells* and others.

gites beyond the Caspian Sea, in the countries of Khorasân, Chorasmia, Balkh, &c. following in this *Ebedjesu* and other Syrian authorities quoted by Assemani in his *Bibl. Orient.* Tom. III. P. II. p. 16, 17, 20. Josephus identifies them with the Scythians, as also Eustathius, Jerome, and Theodoret; Ambrose with the Goths; Eusebius with the Celts and Galatians (Gauls); the author of the Alexandrian Chronicle with the Aquitani; the Chaldee Paraphr. with the Germans; the Arab, Vers. with the Tartars, &c. Comp. the Koran, Sur. 18, 94—99, 21, 96. A combination similar to *Yajooj* and *Ma-jooj* is تچین و ماچین *Tchîn* and *Ma-tchîn* for China. Some regard the syllable *Mā* as the Sanscrit for *great*; others as denoting *place, abode, region*. See *Gesenius Lex. voce.* מוגג.

The Wall of Gog and Magog, (p. 126, 127, note 6,)—The following is the account of *Ker Porter*, (*Travels*, Vol. II. p. 520.)—“The name Daghistan implies a land of mountains, and it contains some of the most inaccessible of this branch of the Caucasian range, which runs directly through the heart of this country. The eastern side, towards the sea, commands the most level ground; and on that shore we find the district and city of Derbent. It possesses a picturesque citadel, though situated at rather an unserviceable distance from the town and harbour; but I am told that part of the ancient wall, named Gog and Magog, is very traceable near this old stronghold, and that its foundations may be tracked thence, running in a westerly direction over even the highest mountains. This place, and its adjacent district, a position deemed of the greatest importance by all conquerors, whether Persians, Greeks, Arabs, &c. who could acquire its possession, is now the property of Russia.” This wall was really built by the famous Noushivan, king of Persia, as a barrier against the inroads of the Khazars.

That Gog and Magog were to be sought for in the Caucasus, was the idea of *Bochart*. “He observes, says Wells,

(Geog. of the Old Test. Vol. I. p. 121,) that these words גוג-חסן *Gog-chasan*, denote in the neighbouring Oriental tongues as much as Gog's Fort, and from *Gog-chasan* the Greeks framed the name *Καύκασος*, *Caucasus*." And besides finding the word Gog preserved in Gogarene, a district of Iberia, he believes Promethens, chained to the Caucasus by Jupiter, to have been none other than Gog.

The *Scherif-el-Edrisi*, in his geographical work called "The Diversion of the Curious," gives a singular account of Yajooj and Majooj, taken from the travels of one Salam the Interpreter. This person, says he, was sent about the beginning of the ninth century, by the Calif Mohammed Ameen Billah, to discover the mountain Kokaiya, with the bank or rampart of Yajooj and Majooj, who dwelt on the north of it, and who were confined within by a great gate of iron, fifty cubits high, supported by great buttresses, with an iron bulwark reaching to the summit of Kokaiya, almost beyond the reach of vision. The people of Yajooj, says he, are of the common size, but those of Majooj (so far from being giants according to European notion) are a race of pigmies only three spans high.

For farther information respecting the locality of Gog and Magog, the reader is referred to a Dissert. on the subject by *D'Anville*, in the *Memoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Bell. Lettres*, Vol. XXXI. and *Rennell's Geog. of Herodotus*, p. 152.

Sect. V. *Rosh*, (p. 127.)—The province of Rhædsh or Radsha, in Imerethi (Iberia) is thus spoken of by *Balbi*, following the accounts of Klaproth: "We mention the town of Oni, to call the reader's attention to one of the most curious parts of this region, namely, the mountainous district of Ratcha. This beautiful but neglected country abounds in mines of silver, copper, and iron. The air is pure, and the climate salubrious, a rare circumstance in the Caucasian region. The soil is in some parts covered with the ruins of towns and fortresses; Greek and Sassanian medals are found, and sometimes coins with unknown characters." *Geographie*. Paris 1834, p. 794.

As to the rendering of Ezek. xxxviii. 2, (note 1, p. 128,) Jerome

puts in a parenthesis after *principem capitis* the words ("sive Ros.") Symmachus and Theodotion follow the Septuagint in making Rosh a proper name, and that, indeed, is now the universal opinion. With respect to the people intended by Rosh, Ibn Fozzlan, an Arabic writer, has written at length of a heathen tribe, called روس, who dwelt on the Volga. His account, translated into German by *Frähn*, was published at St. Petersburg in 1823. Comp. with it, the eminent Orientalist *Von Hammer's* *Origines Russes*. Petersb. 1827. Connecting the name with that of *Tiras* (mentioned in Gen. x. 2,) he thinks their original seat was the ارس Aras or Araxes. Comp. the Koran. Sur.

25, 31: 50, 12. The following are some of the eastern traditions: "The Orientals hold," says *D'Herbelot*, (*Bibl. Orient.* p. 722,) that Japheth had a son called Rous,^a not mentioned by Moses, who peopled Russia, that is Muscovy. They add, that Rous was of a very uneasy and turbulent disposition. He possessed the country beyond the Etel or Volga, and often made inroads into the territories of his brother Khazar, who, to live in peace with him, was forced to cede all the islands of this great river which falls into the Caspian Sea. In all these islands, Rous caused to be sown Turkey wheat, which the Turks to this day, in their own tongue, call wheat of *Rous*, or of Bulgaria. He enacted very unjust laws, to which he forced all his subjects to submit. Among others, one excluded male heirs from succeeding to their father's estates, and made them devolve entirely to females. He likewise introduced the custom of putting a sword into the hands of boys as soon as they were able to manage it, with these words, "This is your inheritance."

The same authors relate, that Japheth had a son called Seclab (*Sklavonians*), who chiefly turned his mind to building of houses and cities, because of the number of his children. When these had increased to a great multitude, they desired lands for cultivation of their brethren the children of

^a See the present volume, p. 107.

Rous, but met with a positive refusal. They afterwards solicited the descendants of Khazar and Gomari their brethren also, but with no better success; so that they thought force was their only means to acquire possession, but then all their neighbours confederated against them, so that they were obliged to relinquish their enterprize, and to retire to a very cold country beyond the seventh climate. *Mirkhond* says, that the Seclabs inhabit the country of the Hyperboreans to this day, where they are forced to live under ground during the winter season. He also says, that Seclab had a son whose mother died at his birth; so that they were obliged to feed him with the milk of a hare; for this reason, when the child grew up he could leap and run with the most incredible nimbleness and swiftness, which qualities continued hereditary in the family." The most ancient name of the Volga (where Rous settled) was the *Rha* or *Rhas*, which some have thought the Araxes, but we are assured on good authority that the two words are radically different in the Armenian tongue. See *Saint Martin* Mem. sur l'Armenie, I. 38. II. 228. It is still called *Rhaon* by the Morduates, a Finnish tribe. *Volga* appears to be the Slavonic name, and *Etel* or *Itel* the Tartaric.

Sect. VI. *Meshech and Tubal*, (p. 130.)---The former word seems derived from מִשַׁךְ *to seize, hold, possess*; the etymology of the latter is less obvious. We find it previously occurring^a in the name of Tubal-kain (Gen. iv. 22), which many German critics explain from the Persian توپل *tupal* or rather توپل

tupal, metallic ore, and the Arabic قِيبِي a smith; though the latter is, by Michaelis, Dathe, and others, regarded as merely an appellative surname, drawn from his profession, q. d. Tubal the Smith. *Simonis* (Onomastic), and *Rosenmüller* (Scholia in loc.) derive תובל from יבל a river. From the similarity of the names of the three sons of Lamech, viz. Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal, I should be disposed to seek their derivation in a common root יבל a verb of extensive import.

^a In Gen. iv. 22, it has in Heb. the *Wau* expressed, תובל but not in Gen. x. 2. The Samaritan Pentateuch has the *Wau* in both places.

The country of Meshech and Tubal is supposed to have been that branch of the Caucasus, called by the ancients the Moschian, and by the moderns the Tchildir range. See *Ker Porter's Travels*, Vol. I. p. 152. Recent Travellers thus speak of it: "Akhaltzikhe (or Akhiskhah) is situated in the mountains which were called by the Greeks Moschici, and gave to the region the name of *Meschia*. They now bear the name of Childir-dagh; evidently related to the Chaldæi, who once occupied those parts. It is the only place of importance now existing in the ancient Armenian province of Daik, and was, before the war, the capital of a small pashalik. No other place that came within the range of our inquiry in Turkish Armenia, contains any Jews.^a Here they number about sixty families in the city, and as many in the surrounding villages. They have been in the country from time immemorial, and speak no language but Turkish and Georgian. There are also in the pashalik many people of Georgian race. The Turks seem to have inherited much of the bravery of its ancient Armenian inhabitants, but they were a bad people. Besides giving an asylum to the discontented subjects of the Georgian provinces, they carried on, according to information given us by Turks themselves, in Kars, a clandestine slave-trade with their neighbours of Colchis, introducing the victims of their traffic through a convenient pass in the mountains. In fact, being, like Poty and Anapa, situated in the vicinity of people given, from the earliest times, to selling their children and serfs, and from which the harems of the Turks have procured their favourites, and its palaces their Mamelukes for ages; the Turks made use of it for the same inhuman purposes as they did those fortresses. It is not, therefore, surprising that, at the close of the late war, the Russians should, together with them, have retained it also, and the neighbouring fortresses of Azghoor and Akhalkalaki. Most of its Turkish inhabitants have retired to Erzroom and

^a So that, considering their harsh treatment by the Turks, they have *literally* to utter the complaint in Ps. cxx, "Wee is me, that I dwell in Meshech!"—M.

other parts of Turkey. It is 36 hours from Kars and 34 from Tiflis; and I suppose the road from the former passes near Gümry, as we did not part company with the emigrating Armenians till we crossed the Arpachai near that place." *Smith and Dwight's Missionary Researches*, p. 99.

Sect. VII. *Thogarmah* (p. 133.)—The Sept. MSS. make sad work of this word, writing it *Θεργαμά*, *Θεργαμά*, *Θεργυμά*, and *Θεργαζά*. Josephus has also *Θυργάμυς* and *Θεργάμυς*. Among the fathers *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, and *Isidorus of Seville*, are of the received opinion that *Thogarmah* is to be sought in Armenia. *Josephus* and *Jerome* think of Phrygia; *Bochart* of Cappadocia; *Calmet* and others of Turcomania; the Chaldee and Rabbins of Germany, &c.

When the German traveller *Guldenstedt* was in the Caucasus, he obtained access to a Georgian Chronicle,^a of which the following is an extract. It will be seen to be confirmatory of what *Rosenmüller* has stated at p. 133-4, 146. "In the year of the world 1792, there dwelt in a fortress, on Mount Ararat, a man of the name of Targamos. He lived 600 years, and was the father of eight sons:

1. AOs, the ancestor of the *Armenians*.
2. Kartelos, of the *Georgians* (Kartnelta.)
3. Baidos, of the people of Ranta (*Shirwan*.)
4. Moakan, of the Mokavnelta (*Erivan*.)
5. Lekas, of the Lecta (*Lesguis*.)
6. Eros, of the *Mingrelians* (Mingrella.)
7. Kaukas of the *Caucasians* (Kaukasianta.)
8. Egros, of the *Imeretians* and *Caketians*.

Comp. *Ellis' Essay on the Caucasian Nations* [attached to his *Memoir of a Map of the Caucasus*.] Lond. 1788.

Country of Ararat, (p. 134, 148).—In Gen. viii. 4, the Vulg. has *Montes Armeniæ*, and in other places where Ararat

^a Much curious information respecting Georgia and the adjoining countries will be found in the "Chronique Georgienne," edited by *M. Brosset* (with a French translation.) Paris, 1830, 8vo.

occurs, it has *Terra Armeniorum*. That the mountain upon which the ark rested was in that country, is an opinion that is all but universal. There is indeed another tradition which identifies it rather with Mount Jūdī جودي, one of the Gordiæan or Carduchian range, which separates Armenia from Kurdistan, the ancient Assyria. At the foot of that mountain lies a village called Karya Thāminīn قرية ثامنين, i. e. *the Village of Eighty*.^a The Syr. and Chald. Translators seem to have followed this tradition, for they both have קרדו q. d. the Carduchian Mountains, the seat of the Carduchii, the modern Kurds. The Arab. of Erpenius has جبال القردو Jibāl el-Karūd^b which is likewise found in "the Book of Adam," of the Zabæans. See *Norberg's* Onomast. p. 134. Comp. the Koran, XI. 46. *D'Herbelot* Bibl. Orient. p. 404. *Assemani* Bibl. Orient. II. p. 113.

Others look for the Ararat of Scripture farther to the east. See *Wells' Geog.* I. p. 60. As the tradition of the deluge became universal, it was natural for the inhabitants of mountainous countries to connect the resting-place of the ark with the most conspicuous elevation in their own neighbourhood. Thus we are informed by Burnes (*Travels to Bokhara*, I. p. 117), that on the road between Peshawur and Cabool, "the Sufed Koh, or white mountain, reared its crest on one side, and the tower-

^a *William de Rubriques*, who travelled in 1253, mentions a place called *Cmainim*; the mountain near it being called Macis, or "the Mother of the World." *Hales' Chron.* II. p. 333, note. There is a Mahometan tradition that not *Eight*, but *Eighty* persons were saved from the flood.

^b As I have not access to the original of Erpenius, I here follow *Winer* (Bibl. Realwörterb. Art. Ararat.) *Bochart* has the same orthography, in Hebrew characters אלקרוד. But ought it not to be אלקרדו, or in Arabic letters, القردو el-Kardu?

ing hill of Noorgill or Kooner on the other ; here the Afghans believe the ark of Noah to have rested after the deluge, and this Mount Ararat of Afghanistan, from its great height, is certainly worthy of the distinction ; it is covered with perpetual snow," and again at (p. 122,) "in the country of Lughman, between Jululabad and the mountains, the people point out the tomb of Metur Lam, or Lamech, the father of Noah." —Another mountain which is peculiarly sacred throughout the East, is Adam's Peak in the Island of Ceylon, and it is a singular circumstance that in Gen. viii. 4, the Samaritan Vers. has סרנדיב Sarandib, the Arabic name for Ceylon. See the extract from Selden at p. 16, and *Winer's Dissert. de Vers. Samar.* Indole, § 55. In the Sibylline verses, it is said that the Mountains of Ararat lay in Phrygia, but Bochart has shewn that the mistake arose from the circumstance of a city in Phrygia, having borne the name of Apamea Kibōtos, the latter word signifying in Greek, "an ark." See Calmet under Apamea, and Taylor's Fragments, No. 518.

Divisions of Armenia, (p. 137.)—At present Armenia is divided among Turkey, Persia, and Russia. The last war between Russia and Persia, ended in the Treaty of Turkoman-shee, 21st February 1828, by which the Khanats of Erivan and Nakhshivan were ceded to Russia, and the boundary-line is now drawn from the Turkish dominions, passes over the summit of the little Ararat, and down the Lower Kara-Su to the Araxes. It then follows the Araxes during the greater part of its middle course by Abbasabad and Yedibouloob, traversing the plain of Mogan to Adina Bazaar, ascending the current of that name to its source, and thence running along the west of the Elboorz Mountains to the source of the Ash-tara, which it follows to the Caspian. It thus places the greater part of Talish under the Russian dominion, besides the islands in the Caspian that lie within its compass. The line of separation between Persian and Turkish Armenia begins at Mount Ararat, and, proceeding south, follows the range of hills which separate the rivers falling into the Tigris and

Lake Van, from those that run towards the Araxes and Lake Oormiah. It thus appears that Mount Ararat is, so to speak, the central boundary-stone of the three empires of Russia, Turkey, and Persia.

Name of Armenia, (p. 148.)—On the orthography of Armenia, *Abulfeda* (in a portion of his Geographical Tables, edited for the first time by *Wüstenfeld* in 1835,) remarks,

وقال ياقوت ارمينية بكسر الهمزة وسكون

الراء المهملة وكسر الميم وسكون اليا اخر الحروف

وكسر التون ثم يا ثانية مخففة وقد تشديد

—وذكر ضبط ارمينية في اللباب بفتح الهمزة

that is, “according to *Yākūt*, it is spelt ارمينية or ارمينية

Irmīniya or *Irmīnīya*, but, according to *El-Lobāb*, the initial vowel is *A*.”

The author of “the Modern Traveller” (*Josiah Conder*) has prefixed to the English edition of *Smith and Dwight’s* *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, a *Sketch of Armenian History*, in which he observes (p. 15) that “the original Armenia, the *Minni* of the Hebrew Scriptures, was probably limited to the provinces of Erivan and Nakhshivan, which now alone, by a singular fortune, retains under Russian sway that denomination.” But respecting the boundaries of the province of *Minni* we are altogether ignorant; and indeed the name *Armenia* has varied exceedingly as to the extent of its application, both in ancient and modern times. Towards the close of the last war between Russia and Turkey, large bodies of native Armenians emigrated into the Russian territories, and their number in what is called Turkish Armenia must now be very considerably reduced.

Saint Martin conjectures that the name *Minni* may refer

to the Manavazians, a distinguished Armenian tribe, descended from Manavaz, a son of Haik, the capital of whose country was Manavazagerd, now Melazgerd. See his *Memoires sur l'Arménie*, Vol. I. p. 249.

Parrot's Ascent to Mount Ararat, (p. 143, 151.)—Several attempts had been made to reach the top of Ararat, but few persons had got beyond the limit of perpetual snow. The French traveller *Tournefort*, in the year 1700, persevered long in the face of many difficulties, but was foiled in the end. Nearly thirty years ago the Pacha of Bayazeed undertook the ascent, but with no better success. The honour was reserved to a German, *Dr. Parrot*, to be the first to tread this lofty eminence. The following particulars of his visit are extracted from his "*Reise zum Ararat*," of which the reader will find a notice in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* for June 1835.

"The summit of the great Ararat is situated in $39^{\circ} 42'$ north latitude, and $61^{\circ} 55'$ east longitude from Ferro; its perpendicular height is 16,254 Paris feet, or nearly 5 wersts above the level of the sea; and 13,530 Paris feet, or rather more than 4 wersts above the plain of the Araxes. The north-eastern declivity of the mountain may be estimated at 20, its north-western at 30 wersts in length. In the former, we recognise at some distance the deep black chasm, which many have compared to an extinct crater, but which has always appeared to me to resemble a cleft, as if the mountain had once been split from above. From the summit, for about one werst in a perpendicular, or four wersts in an oblique direction, it is covered with a mantle of eternal snow and ice, the lower edge of which is indented according to the elevation or depression of the ground. On the whole of the north side of the mountain, however, from about 13,300 Paris feet, or rather more than four wersts, above the level of the sea, it runs along in one rigid crust, broken but by few projections of rock, up to the summit, over which it extends down to the southern side, of a less considerable depth. This is the hoary head of Ararat. The little Ararat lies in $39^{\circ} 39'$ north lati-

tude, $62^{\circ} 2'$ east longitude from Ferro. Its summit is elevated 12,284 Paris feet, rather above $3\frac{3}{4}$ wersts perpendicular above the level of the sea, and 9561 Paris feet above the plain of the Araxes. Notwithstanding this considerable elevation, it is not covered with perpetual snow ; but, in September and October, and probably in August, or even earlier, it is quite free from it. In shape it is almost a perfect cone. Numerous small furrows, which radiate from the summit, give this mountain a peculiar and very interesting character.

The impression which the sight of Ararat makes on every one whose mind is capable of comprehending the stupendous works of the Creator, is awful and mysterious, and many a sensitive and intelligent traveller has endeavoured, with glowing pen and skilful pencil, to describe this impression ; and in the feeling that no description, no delineation, can come up to the sublime object before him, every one who has made such an attempt, must certainly have experienced how difficult it is to avoid, both in language and in sketching, every thing that is poetical in expression or exaggerated in form, and to keep strictly within the bounds of truth."^a

Now follows the detailed account of his journey to the top. He appears to have been in the service of Russia, whose armies, in the last contest with Turkey, were, at this period, (1829,) in possession of the surrounding country. After he and his party had failed in two attempts to ascend, the third proved successful.

"In the meantime, the sky cleared up, and the air became serene and calm, the mountain was more quiet, the noise occasioned by the falling of the masses of ice and snow grew less frequent ; in short, every thing seemed to indicate that a favourable turn was about to take place in the weather, and I hastened to embrace it, for a third attempt to ascend the mountain. On the 25th of September, I sent to ask Stephan whether he would join us, but he declined, saying, that he had suffered too much from the former excursion to venture

^a Among the many views of Ararat that have been given by travellers, Parrot gives the preference to that of *Sir William Ouseley*.—M.

again so soon ; he, however, promised to send four stout peasants with three oxen and a driver. Early the next morning four peasants made their appearance at the camp, to join our expedition, and soon after a fifth, who offered himself voluntarily. To them I added two of our soldiers. The deacon again accompanied us, as well as Mr. Hehn, who wished to explore the vegetation at a greater elevation, but he did not intend to proceed beyond the line of snow. The experience of the preceding attempt had convinced me that everything depended on our passing the first night, as closely as possible to this boundary, in order to be able to ascend and return from the summit in one day, and to confine our baggage to what was absolutely necessary. We therefore took with us only three oxen, laden with the clothing, wood, and provisions. I also took a small cross, carved in oak. We chose our course towards the same side as before ; and, in order to spare ourselves, Abowian and I rode on horseback, wherever the rocky nature of the soil permitted it, as far as the grassy plain Kip-Ghioll, whence we sent the horses back. Here Mr. Hehn parted from us. It was scarcely twelve o'clock when we reached this point ; and, after taking our breakfast, we proceeded in a direction rather more oblique than on our former attempt. The cattle were, however, unable to follow us so quickly. We, therefore, halted at some rocks, which it would be impossible for them to pass ; took each our own share of clothing and wood, and sent back the oxen. At half-past five in the evening we were not far from the snow line, and considerably higher than the place where we passed the night on our previous excursion. The elevation of this point was 13,036 Paris feet above the level of the sea, and the large masses of rock determined me to take up our quarters here. A fire was soon made, and a warm supper prepared. I had some onion broth, a dish which I would recommend in preference to meat broth, as being extremely warm and invigorating. This being a fast day, poor Abowian was not able to enjoy it. The other Armenians, who strictly adhered to their rules of fasting, contented themselves with bread, and the

brandy, which I distributed among them in a limited quantity, as this cordial must be taken with great caution, especially where the strength has been previously much tried, as it otherwise produces a sense of exhaustion and inclination to sleep. It was a magnificent evening; and with my eye fixed on the clear sky, and the lofty summit which projected against it, and then again on the dark night, which was gathering far below, and around me, I experienced all those delightful sensations of tranquillity, love, and devotion, that silent reminiscence of the past, that subdued glance into the future, which a traveller never fails to experience when on lofty elevations, and under pleasing circumstances. I laid myself down under an overhanging rock of lava, the temperature of the air at $4\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, which was tolerably warm, considering our great height.

At day-break we rose and began our journey at half-past six. We crossed the last broken declivities in half an hour, and entered the boundary of eternal snow, nearly at the same place as in our preceding ascent. In consequence of the increased warmth of the weather, the new fallen snow which had facilitated our progress on our previous ascent, had melted away, and again frozen, so that, in spite of the still inconsiderable slope, we were compelled to cut steps in the ice. This very much embarrassed our advance, and added greatly to our fatigue. One of the peasants had remained behind in our resting place, as he felt unwell. Two others became exhausted in ascending the side of the glacier. They at first lay down, but soon retreated to our quarters. Without being disheartened by those difficulties, we proceeded, and soon reached the great cleft which marks the upper edge of the declivity of the large glacier, and at ten o'clock we arrived at the great plain of snow which marks the first break on the icy head of Ararat. At the distance of a verst we saw the cross which we had reared on the 19th of September, but it appeared to me so extremely small, probably on account of its black colour, that I almost doubted whether I should be able to find it again with an ordinary telescope from the plain

of the Araxes. In the direction towards the summit, a shorter, but at the same time a steeper declivity than the one we had passed lay before us; and between this and the extreme summit, there appeared to be only one small hill. After a short repose we passed the first precipice, which was the steepest of all, by hewing out steps in the rock, and after this the next elevation. But here, instead of seeing the ultimate goal of all our difficulties, immediately before us appeared a series of hills, which even concealed the summit from our sight. This rather abated our courage, which had never yielded for a moment, so long as we had all our difficulties in view, and our strength, exhausted by the labour of hewing the rock, seemed scarcely commensurate with the attainment of the now invisible object of our wishes. But a review of what had been already accomplished, and of that which might still remain to be done, the proximity of the series of projecting elevations, and a glance at my brave companions, banished my fears, and we boldly advanced. We crossed two more hills, and the cold air of the summit blew towards us. I stepped from behind one of the glaciers, and the extreme cone of Ararat lay distinctly before my enraptured eyes. But one more effort was necessary. Only one other icy plain was to be ascended, and at a quarter past three, on the 27th of September O. S. 1829, we stood on the summit of Mount Ararat !”

Having thus happily accomplished his fatiguing and perilous enterprise, our author's first wish and enjoyment was repose; he spread his cloak on the ground, and, sitting down, contemplated the boundless, but desolate prospect around him. He was on a slightly convex, almost circular platform, about 200 Paris feet in diameter, which, at the extremity, declines pretty steeply on all sides, particularly towards the S. E. and N. E. It was the silver crest of Ararat composed of eternal ice, unbroken by a rock or stone. Towards the east the summit declined more gently than in any other direction, and was connected by a hollow, likewise covered with perpetual ice, with another rather lower summit, which, by Mr. Federow's trigonometrical measurement, was found to be 187 toises dia-

tant from the principal summit. On account of the immense distances, nothing could be seen distinctly. The whole valley of the Araxes was covered with a grey mist, through which Erivan and Sardarabad appeared as small dark spots; to the south were seen more distinctly, the hills behind which lies Bayazeed; to the N. W., the rugged top of Alaghes, covered with vast masses of snow, probably an inaccessible summit; near to Ararat, especially to the S. E., and at a great distance towards the west, are numerous small conical hills, which look like extinct volcanoes; to the E. S. E. was Little Ararat, whose head did not appear like a cone, as it does from the plain, but like the top of a square truncated pyramid, with larger and smaller rocky elevations on the edges and in the middle; but what very much surprised Professor Parrot, was to see a large portion of Lake Goktschai, which appeared in the N. E., like a beautiful shining dark blue patch, behind the lofty chain of mountains which encloses it on the south, and which is so high, that he never could have believed he should have been able from the top of Ararat to see over its summit into the lake behind it. Mr. Parrot having allowed himself time to enjoy this prospect, proceeded to observe his barometer; which he placed precisely in the middle of the summit. The mercury was no higher than 15 inches, $\frac{3}{4}$ of a line, Paris measure, the temperature being $3\frac{7}{16}$ below the freezing point of the centigrade thermometer. By comparing this observation with that which Mr. Federow made at the same time, at the convent of St. James's, the elevation of the summit appears to be 10,272 Paris feet above the convent, and adding to that the height of the latter, the top of Ararat is 16,254 Paris feet, or nearly five wersts above the level of the sea. While the Professor was engaged in his observations, the deacon planted the cross, not precisely on the summit, where it could not have been seen from the plain, as it was only five feet high, but on the N. E. edge, about thirty feet lower than the centre of the summit. The Professor and his five companions, viz. the deacon, two Russian soldiers, and two Armenian peasants, having remained three quarters of an hour on the summit, commenced their

descent, which was very fatiguing; but they hastened, as the sun was going down, and before they reached the place where the great cross was erected, it had already sunk below the horizon.

“ It was a glorious sight, says the traveller, to see the dark shadows which the mountains in the west cast upon the plain, and then the profound darkness which covered all the vallies, and gradually rose higher and higher on the sides of Ararat, whose icy summit was still illuminated by the beams of the setting sun. But the shadows soon passed over that also, and would have covered our path with a gloom that would have rendered our descent dangerous, had not the sacred lamp of night, opportunely rising above the eastern horizon, cheered us with its welcome beams.”

“ Having passed the night on the same spot as on their ascent, where they found their companions, they arrived the next day at noon at the convent of St. James, and on the following day, Sunday the 28th of September, O. S., they offered their grateful thanksgiving to heaven for the success of their arduous enterprize, perhaps not far from the spot where Noah built an altar to the Lord.’

“ We have lately received (says the reviewer) an account of an ascent of Mount Ararat in the middle of August 1834, accomplished by a Mr. Antonomoff, a young man holding an office in Armenia, who was induced to make the attempt, partly to satisfy his own curiosity, and partly out of regard for the reputation of Professor Parrot; whose having actually reached the summit of the mountain is still obstinately denied, particularly by the inmates of the convent, who fancy that the truth would lower the opinion of the people with regard to the sanctity of their mountain. Mr. Antonomoff succeeded in reaching the summit; the large cross, set up by Mr. Parrot, was nearly covered with snow, the smaller cross, planted on the summit, was not to be found, and was probably buried in the snow. One of his guides, who had also accompanied Mr. Parrot, shewed him the spot where it had been set up. He asked some persons to look while he was at

the top and try if they could see him. On his coming down, however, nobody would admit having seen him there ; they all affirmed, that to reach the summit was impossible ; and though he and his guides agreed, the magistrates of the village refused not only to give him a certificate of his having ascended the mountain, but even of his guides having declared he had done so."

This disbelief of the assertion that the mountain has actually been ascended, is not confined to the people of the country, but is shared by the American Missionaries, Messrs. Smith and Dwight, (*Researches in Armenia*, p. 267, note), who, in justification of their incredulity, say, that the report was not believed by many of the Russians, and hint that even the governor of the province was sceptical. But the idea that a man of Dr. Parrot's scientific character could either be deceived himself, or could procure the men of his party to join with him in propagating a deliberate falsehood, presents too improbable a supposition to be for a moment admitted. The repeated ascents of Mont Blanc and other mountains, nearly as elevated, and in a much colder latitude, render Parrot's account perfectly credible.

The incredulity of the Armenians, as to the possibility of ascending to the top of Ararat, is based on their superstition. " They are firmly persuaded that Noah's ark exists to the present day on the summit of the mountain, and that, in order to preserve it, no person is permitted to approach it. We learn the grounds of this tradition from the Armenian chronicles, in the legend of a monk of the name of James, who was afterwards patriarch of Nesibis, and a cotemporary and relative of St. Gregory. It is said that this monk, in order to settle the disputes which had arisen with respect to the scriptural accounts of Noah, resolved to ascend to the top of Ararat to convince himself of the existence of the ark. At the declivity of the mountain, however, he had several times fallen asleep from exhaustion, and found, on awakening, that he had been unconsciously carried down to the point from which he first set out. God at length had compassion on his un-

wearied though fruitless exertions, and during his sleep sent an angel with the message, that his exertions were unavailing, but, as a reward for his indefatigable zeal, he sent him a piece of the ark, the very same which is now preserved as the most valuable relic in the cathedral of Etschmiadzen. The belief in the impossibility of ascending Mount Ararat has, in consequence of this tradition, which is sanctioned by the church, almost become an article of faith, which an Armenian would not renounce, even if he were placed in his own proper person upon the summit of the mountain."

Sect. VIII. *Scythia* (p. 155.)—In Jer. xxxix. 3, the Chald. word *Sar-sechim* occurs, which some would render "prince of the Sacæ," a Scythian nation; but the context shews it is a proper name, and so the ancient versions have regarded it. The Chaldean word *אפרסתכיא* in Ezra iv. 9 has been translated "near the Sacæ," but the *ת* forbids this. Our Eng. vers. has "the Apharsath-chites." *Michaelis* thinks that *סתכיא* denotes the province of *Sitakene*, of which there were two; one on the east side of the Palus Mæotis, and another on the east bank of the Tigris, in the south of Assyria. The prefix *Aphar* might distinguish the one from the other. *Grotius* and *Gesenius* think of the *Περσσοσθηται*, others of the *Paraetaceni*. (Herod. I. 101.) In Kennicott's MS., No. 4, there is the reading *ארפתכיא*, which is plainly a clerical error. In Ezra v. 6, and in Kennicott's MS., No. 153, at Ezra iv. 9, we find in Chald. *אפר סכיא* (Eng. Vers. *Apharsachites*), put instead of the *Apharsath-chites* and various other colonists enumerated at chap. iv. 9. That word has more resemblance to the *Sacæ*, and yet we can scarcely look for them so far south. Herodotus informs us (VII. 64) that the name *Sacæ* was given by the Persians to the Scythians indiscriminately. See *Bellermann's Handbuch*, II. p. 283, 4.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER V.

Media.—The present state of Mazanderan (p. 161), is thus described by a late traveller. “Mazanderan is a disagreeable country ; and has so moist a climate, that the inhabitants are subject to fevers, agues, dropsies, palsies, and many other diseases. The people are sallow, and the children weak and rickety. It is a land of snakes and frogs ; but the snakes are not venomous, being of the water species. They are to be seen twisting and turning everywhere ; and about the thickness of a good sized whip. Almost at every pace, your horse disturbs some frogs, who scramble in vain for concealment, even in a country of bushes and shrubs. So great is the moisture, that the rice crops are not cut as in other countries. They mow the grain down near the ear, and place it to dry on the stubble ; for it would otherwise rot. Mazanderan is a rich province. The sugar cane thrives in it, but they do not appear to prepare it beyond the first stage, and sell it as molasses. Cotton also grows luxuriantly, and silk worms are educated everywhere. The fruit is good, and much of it grows wild. There are whole woods of pomegranate-trees ; and the people collect the fruit, and after drying the seeds in the sun, export them as a rarity to other countries. The peasantry, with a sickly, have yet a comfortable appearance. They tie folds of cloth round their legs, and fix them with a low shoe and lacing cords. They wade through their muddy roads with these, and tell you they are superior to boots, since they may be dried in the evening.”—*Burnes' Travels*, Vol. II. p. 125.

Ecbatana or *Achmeta* (p. 163.)—Ortelius, Della Valle, Chardin, &c. identify this city with *Tebrîz*, and have been followed in this by the authors of the *Ancient Universal History*, Gibbon, Jones, and others; but it is the now universally received opinion (after D'Anville and Rennell) that it is the modern *Hamadan*. Some cogent arguments for this belief will be found in a note by *Bell* in his edition of Rollin's *Ancient History*, Vol. I. p. 143. "Xenophon, in his account of the retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks, says, that, 'being arrived at a place where the Tigris was unfordable, and an almost impassable range of mountains in front, they examined the prisoners respecting the direction of their course, who told them that four roads branched off at that place; one led south to Babylon and Media, another, to the east, led to Susa and Ecbatana, a third led west over the Tigris to Lydia and Ionia, and a fourth went north to the Carduchian territories.' At this day such a branching off of four different roads actually takes place at the very spot mentioned by Xenophon. It is the modern village of Hatarrah, forty miles S. E. of the city of Zaku: where one road leads to Mosul and Bagdad south; another to Hamadan, by the Pass of Derbend or the Iron Gate; a third to Amadia, the ancient Marde; and a fourth into Mesopotamia." As a further proof that Hamadan and not Tebriz is the ancient Ecbatana, Alexander's march from Persepolis thither may be appealed to. It was performed in twelve days. Now Hamadan is 480 geographical miles from Persepolis. He marched, of course, 40 such miles a day, one of the most rapid marches recorded in history. But if Tabriz had been Ecbatana, he could not have reached it in twelve days, the distance between them being upwards of 700 miles.

The Tomb of Esther and Mordecai at Hamadan (p. 163.)—The following is Morier's account: "Near to the Mesjid Jûmah, in a court filled with tombs, stands a building called the Sepulchre of Esther and Mordecai. It is built of brick, and consists of two chambers, one of which is merely

an entrance or anti-room to the other, and appears to be modern compared with the rest of the structure. But the whole does not look of greater antiquity than the first ages of Mahomedanism. It is crowned by a cupola, which partakes of the elliptical form of those erected at the present day in Persia, and its architecture, in other respects, has all the features of an origin, not earlier, at the farthest, than the Saracen invasion. Sir Gore Ouseley copied and translated an Hebrew inscription,^a rudely carved on a stone and inserted in the wall of the inner chamber, which states that the building was erected in the year 4474 of the creation, by two devout Jews of Kashan, over the graves of Mordecai and Esther. But the old rabbi who escorted us, before he had discovered that the ambassador could decypher his inscription, boldly asserted that the bones of those holy personages were actually buried in that very spot, and that the mausoleum, which we now saw, was the pious work of the son of Ardeshir.⁷

“ However, as soon as he found that he might be detected, he confessed, what he could no longer conceal, and agreed with us that it would be difficult to determine where the actual relics were deposited. This mausoleum, upon the summit of which was a stork’s nest, is a very picturesque object. It is entered by a stone door made of one large slate, which is opened by inserting the hand through a hole cut for the purpose. The first chamber was a deposit for the emblems of death; for besides lamps, we found the *taboot*, or wooden litter, in which the dead are carried to the grave, and other appurtenances. We crept into the second chamber through a door, about a foot and a half in height, and there found two wooden frames carved all over with Hebrew characters, and shaped like ancient sarcophagi: these were alleged to be the tombs. The walls were inscribed with passages from the Talmud, by characters formed of plaster, and were lighted by small apertures in the cupola. The poor Jews who attended us were

^a See the translation in Sir John Malcolm’s Hist. of Persia, Vol. I. p. 260, but comp. Rosenmuller at p. 185, note 21.

not a little delighted to see us take so much notice of their ancestry, whilst the Mahomedans seemed indignant that we should interest ourselves in any thing that regarded so despised a nation; for here, as in all parts of Persia, they are an abject race, and support themselves by driving a peddling trade. Two hundred families of them live in a state of great misery, paying twenty *tomauns* monthly to the government, and are not permitted to cultivate the ground, or to have landed possessions." He adds some remarks on the identity of Hamadan and Ecbatana. "It has been decided by the two best modern authorities, D'Anville and Rennell,^a that Hamadan occupies the site of the ancient Ecbatana; and that the mountain of Alwend is the Orontes of the ancient geography; such observations as we were enabled to make on the spot have tended to confirm their decision. The situation of Hamadan, so much unlike that of other Persian cities, would of itself be sufficient to establish its claim to a remote origin, considering the propensity of the ancients to build their cities on elevated positions. Ispahan, Shiraz, Teheran, Tabriz, Khoi, are all built upon plains; but Hamadan occupies a great diversity of surface, and, like Rome and Constantinople, can enumerate the hills over which it is spread. Its locality agrees with that of Ecbatana, built on the declivity of Orontes according to Polybius,^b and is also conformable to Herodotus, who, in describing its walks, rising in circles one above the other, says this mode of building was favoured by the situation of the place, which was on a hilly ground—*πολωνὸς ἰδόν.*^c *L'assiette du lieu, qui s'élève en colline* of Larcher, better expresses the nature of the ground, than a *gently rising ground*, which Beloe has adopted in his translation." Morier's Second Journey (p. 265, 266), where a view of Hamadan is given.

Hamadan, it may be remarked, is the principal place in Persia for obtaining Eastern medals, and the engraved gems and other antique relics which are illustrative of the Mithratic worship,

^a Anc. Geo. Media V. Geo. Sys. Herod. p. 272.

^b Lib. x. 24.

^c Cho. 98.

and have been the subject of the learned researches of Baron Von Hammer and Lajard. Comp. *Hoeck*, *Veteris Mediæ et Persiæ Monumenta*. Göttingen 1818, 4to, and *Alexander's Travels in Persia*.

The Conquests of Tiglath-Pileser, and Salmanasser (p. 172, 180.)—On the road between Hamadan and Bagdad, not far from Kermanshah, are the remarkable sculptures and inscriptions on the rocks at *Besittoon* or *Bisûtûn*.^a The lower compartment is by *Macdonald Kinneir* (Geogr. Memoir on the Persian Empire), ascribed to Semiramis, according to an account by Ctesias, as reported by Diodorus Siculus. A little to the east, and higher up the rock, is a line of nine figures, with their hands tied behind their backs, and united by a rope passed round their necks. Before them stands a person of majestic stature with two attendants, holding in his left hand a lance, and resting it, together with his left foot, on a man, who lies prostrate on his back imploring mercy. *Sir R. Ker Porter* hazards the opinion, that the whole is a representation of the conquest and captivity of the ten tribes of Israel by Salmanasser, king of Assyria (including Media,). *Travels*, Vol. II. p. 154. Comp. the above work of *Hoeck*, p. 139. But, in our ignorance of the accompanying inscriptions (which are in the cuneiform character, and have never yet been copied) the matter must remain in obscurity. The execution of these bas-reliefs is very fine, and exactly in the style of those at Persepolis.

To *Major Rennell* belongs the merit of tracing out the localities mentioned as the scene of Israel's captivity in 1 Chron. v. 26, 2 Kings xvii. 6, by their present names. *Hal-lah*, or rather *Chalach*, he compares with the district of *Chal-cal*; *Habor* with the city of *Abhar* or *Habar*, and the river *Gozan* with the *Kizzil-Ozan*, which separates Greater from

^a The word denotes "without pillars." Keppel (in his "Journey over land from India,") thinks it may be a corruption of *Bist-sûtûn*, "Twenty Pillars," like the Tchihi-Sutun or Forty Pillars of Ispahan.

Lesser Media. See *Rennell's Geography of Herodotus*, Sect. 15. *Bell*, in a note to his Edition of Rollin's *Anc. Hist.* I. p. 135, instead of Abhar thinks of Herab, at the foot of Ak-dagh, i. e. *the White Mountain*. As to *Hara*, Rennell compares the district of Tarom; Bell the city of Ahar; but there is more probability in supposing it the Hebrew translation of the Arabic الجبال and the Persian کوهستان i. e. the Highlands, which are still names of Great Media or Persian Irāk.

The Present Condition of the Guebers, (p. 187.)—"Some few indeed, poor and stedfast in their creed, not having it in their power to seek a distant asylum, remained in a kind of bondage on their native soil: worshipping the bright luminary of heaven with eyes ever bent to the ground, and pouring tears for lustral waters on its dishonoured shrines. Whilst the richer multitudes fled to the mountainous frontiers or to the shores of India, this devoted remnant found a sort of hopeless security in their poverty and utter wretchedness; and wandering away to Yezd and Kerman, as places least in the notice of their conqueror, sought and obtained something of a refuge. Yezd still contains about four or five thousand of their descendants; and from the comparative respectability of so considerable a body, they more openly exercise the offices of their religion there, (and from the same reason in Kerman,) than is ever attempted by the poorer Guebers in the villages about. These people are excellent husbandmen, gardeners and mechanics; and some few follow the occupation of merchandise, though on a very limited scale. The liberal spirit of Shah Abbas tolerated their existence at Ispahan, where afterwards the Afghan Mahmoud gave them a mart and enlarged their suburb, still called Guebrabad, but, like that of the Armenian colony from Julpha, it is fallen to decay, nothing now inhabiting its ruined streets but houseless dogs and the refuse of the people. Fars,

the ancient Persis, and the very college of the Mithratic faith, where the sacred books of Zoroaster were laid up in the bosom of the rock on which its capital stood, and the Magi had towns and castles allotted to their residence; this province has not now a single asylum for that repudiated race. Ebn Haukal mentions that, so late as the tenth century, a remnant worshipped in the Gueber temples at Kazeroon, and we find that the same privilege was continued to others of the faith near the naptha-pits of Badku, a place superstitiously revered by all of the religion, as one of the most sacred fountains of their eternal fire. Pilgrims openly resorted thither even so late as the middle of the last century. But now if perchance any lonely little community of this utterly desolate people is found amongst the villages of Persia, if they wish to perform any of their religious rites, they must be done in the closest secrecy. Indeed, from the restraints and fear under which they have been held for so many generations, both the doctrines of their faith and the most solemn rites of their worship have sunk into nothing more than a few hasty prayers muttered to the sun as supreme God; and what they call commemorative ceremonies, are now only sad confused shadows of their former religious festivals; for the little that is left of the Mithratic creed amongst the remnant of its priesthood in Persia is so faintly comprehended, that all the flame of the sacred fire still kept burning at Yezd is insufficient to throw a gleam of any retraceable connection between their present vague belief and the once venerated faith of their ancestors."—*Porter's Travels*, II. p. 45, 46.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI.

The Ruins of Susa, (p. 191.)—The account of Sir R. K. Porter is as follows, (Travels, Vol. II. p. 411): “Susa or Shushan, was the capital of that part of ancient Elam which formed the kingdom or principality of Susiana under the government of Abradates, who was afterwards the friend and ally of Cyrus. On the death of that prince the Persian monarch became sole sovereign of Susiana; and we find that he shortly after preferred its capital for his winter residence before the old imperial towers of Babylon. The modern name of this province is Khuzistan, while that of the ruins is the same as before, being Shus or Shusan. Mr. Macdonald Kin-
nier observes that Shus is a Pehlevi word signifying pleasant; and that when Shapoor, the conqueror of Valerian, erected his royal city on the banks of the Karoon (not fifty miles from this ancient capital), he called it Shuster, which means more pleasant. The remarks of that accurate observer, in his geography of Persia, are particularly interesting on this very head of Susa, and satisfactorily prove the conclusions he draws from the position of the ruins, &c., that on the long bounded track of Shus, we indeed find the remains of the once favourite capital of Cyrus; that we see the classic Cho-
aspes of Herodotus in the Kerrah, the waters of which were sacred to the lip of majesty alone; and in its neighbouring river the Abzal, we find the still more hallowed Eulæus or Ulai, which the scriptures describe as the scene of Daniel’s

prophetic visions. "And it came to pass I was at Shu-shan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam ; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river Ulai." Dan. viii. 2.

"The ruins of Susa in themselves present an appearance not at all unlike those of Babylon, being a succession of similar mounds covered with fragments of bricks, tiles, &c. and stretching over a space of country to the extent of ten or twelve miles. Of these mounds two stand pre-eminent and of enormous expanse ; one being in circumference a mile, and the other nearly two ; their height measures about 150 feet. They are composed of huge masses of sun-dried bricks, and courses of burnt brick and mortar ; and stand not very far from the banks of the Kerrah or Kara-su ; from whose eastern shore the vestiges of this famous capital are yet traceable nearly to the banks of the Abzal, approaching the town of Desphoul. The people of the country distinguish these two great mounds by the names of ' the Castle' and the ' Palace,' and at the foot of the largest appears a little dome-like building under which travellers are shewn the tomb of the prophet Daniel. A dervise resides there impressed with a belief of its peculiar sanctity, and who points to the grave of the inspired son of Judah with as much homage as if it belonged to one of his own most respected imauns. Though covered by this modern structure, no doubt is held by Jew, Arab, or Mussulman, of the great antiquity of the tomb beneath ; all having the same tradition that it indeed contains the remains of the prophet.

"The site of this once noble metropolis of the ancient princes of Elam, is now a mere wilderness, given up to beasts of prey ; no human being disputing their right, excepting the poor dervise who keeps watch over the tomb of the prophet. The friend to whom I am indebted for the outlines I subjoin, passed the night under the same protection, listening to the screams of hyænas, and the roaring of lions, wandering around its solitary walls. The venerable recluse showed him several

blocks of stone curiously sculptured, and of evident antiquity, two of which he sketched hastily, and allowing me to copy, also described them to me."

The Tomb of Daniel (p. 192—200).—The following is the tradition from the Persian MS. of Aasim of Cufah, as given by Sir William Ouseley. "In the 18th year of the Hegira, A. D. 640, whilst Omar was calif, an Arabian army, under Abou Mousa al Ashari, invaded Susiana. In the ancient capital Susa, (Sus), that general found, besides considerable treasures of various kinds, an extraordinary sepulchral monument, which, according to local tradition, contained the body of the prophet Daniel. Of this discovered monument, the most circumstantial account is given by Abou Mohammed Ahmed, whose father Aasim of Cufah, flourished so shortly after the conquest of Susiana that he might, when young, have conversed with several of the veteran warriors, whose valour had contributed to that event, for he died in A. D. 735, as we learn from Casiri. Ebn Aasim's book of victories, in the original Arabic, is a work very rare; but it was translated into Persian by Ahmed al Mastouzi, about the year 1200, A. D., and copies in this language are sufficiently numerous. I have extracted what relates to the tomb of Daniel. Abou Mousa having pillaged the territory of Ahwaz, proceeded to Susa, where he slew the governor or Persian Prince, named Shapour, the son of Azurmahan. Then he entered the castle and palace of that prince, and seized all the treasure there, deposited in different places, until he came to a certain chamber, the door of which was strongly fastened, a leaden seal being affixed to the lock. Abou Mousa inquired of the people of Sus what precious article was guarded with such care in this chamber. They assured him that he would not regard it as a desirable object of plunder; but his curiosity was roused, and he caused the lock to be broken, and the door to be opened. In the chamber he beheld a stone of considerable dimensions, hollowed out into the form of a coffin, and in that the body of a dead man,

wrapt in a shroud or winding sheet of gold brocade. The head was uncovered. Abou Mousa and his attendants were astonished, for having measured the nose, they found that, proportionally, he must have exceeded the common size of men. The people now informed Abou Mousa, that this was the body of an ancient sage who formerly lived in Irak, (Chaldea, or Babylonia) and that whenever the want of rain occasioned a famine or scarcity, the inhabitants applied to this holy man, and through the efficacy of his prayers obtained copious showers of rain from heaven. It happened afterwards that Sus^a also suffered from excessive drought, and the people, in distress, requested that their neighbours would allow this venerable person to reside a few days among them, expecting to derive the blessing of rain from his intercession with the Almighty; but the Irakians would not grant this request. Fifty men then went, deputed by the people of Sus, who again petitioned the ruler of Irak, saying, 'Let the holy person visit our country and detain the fifty men until his return.' These terms were accepted, and the holy person came to Sus, where, through the influence of his prayers, rain fell in great abundance and saved the land from famine; but the people would not permit him to return, and the fifty men were detained as hostages in Irak. Such, said those who accompanied Abou Mousa, is the history of the dead man. The Arabian general then asked them, 'by what name this extraordinary personage had been honoured by them?' They replied, 'The people of Irak called him Daniel Hakim, or Daniel the Sage.' After this Abou Mousa remained some time in Sus, and despatched a messenger to Omar, the commander of the faithful, with an account of all his conquests in Khuzistan, and of the various treasures that had fallen into his possession. He related also the discovery of Daniel's body. When Omar had received this account, he demanded from his chief officers some information concerning Daniel,

^a Shush seems to be the Persian orthography, Sus the Arabic, and Susan the Syrian.

but all were silent except Ali, on whom be the blessing of God! He declared that Daniel had been a prophet, though not of the highest order; that in ages long since he had dwelt with Bakht-al-Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) and the kings who had succeeded him; and Ali related the whole of Daniel's history from the beginning to the end. Omar then, by the advice of his counsellor Ali, caused letters to be directed to Abou Mousa, to remove, with due respect and veneration, the body of Daniel to some place where the people of Sus could no longer enjoy the possession of it. Abou Mousa immediately, on the receipt of this order, obliged the people of Sus to turn the stream which supplied them with water from its natural course. Then he brought forth the body of Daniel, and having wrapped it in another shroud of gold brocade, he commanded a grave to be made in the dry channel of the river, and therein deposited the venerable remains of the prophet. The grave was then firmly secured and covered with stones of considerable size; the river was restored to its wonted channel, and the waters of Sus now flow over the body of Daniel."

"The earliest notice of Daniel's Tomb published in Europe, seems to have been given by Benjamin Tudela, who visited Asia between the years 1160 and 1163. The account of his travels, (first printed in Hebrew, 1543,) has gone through several editions and translations into different languages. The tomb of Daniel is also mentioned by another Jewish traveller, whose Hebrew work, with a Latin version by Hottinger, appeared at Heidelberg in 1659, under the title of *Cippi Hebraici*. But in these notices we find a confusion of the Tigris with the Euphrates, and of Babylon with Susa. The local tradition which places Daniel's Tomb at Susa, appears to me worthy of investigation. Through the more modern authors of some Oriental works, mostly geographical I have pursued the tradition to Hamdallah Cazvini (of the fourteenth century,) and from him (through Rabbi Benjamin above named,) to Ebn Haukal, who travelled in the tenth.

[Vide his *Orient. Geog.* 76.] This is probably the oldest authority that printed books furnish on the subject."

The passage in Ebn Haukal referred to by *Sir William Ouseley*, is to this effect :—" In the city of Sus, there is a river ; and I have heard that in the time of Abou Mousa Ashoari a coffin was found there ; and it is said the bones of Daniel the Prophet (on whom be peace !) were in that coffin. These the people held in great veneration, and in the time of distress or famine from droughts, they brought them out and prayed for rain. Abou Mousa Ashoari ordered this coffin to be brought, and three coverings or cases to be made for it ; the first, or outside one, of which was of boards exceedingly strong ; and caused to be buried, so that it could not be viewed. A bay or gulf of the river came over this grave, which may be seen by any one who dives to the bottom of the water."

Sir William Ouseley, in *Walpole's Memoirs of the East*, (p. 422,) says, " I was finally driven by the heat to the Tomb of Daniel, or as he is called in the East, Danyall, which is situated in a most beautiful spot, washed by a clear running stream, and shaded by planes and other trees of ample foliage. The building is of Mahomedan date, and inhabited by a solitary Dervish, who shews the spot where the prophet is buried beneath a small and simple square brick mausoleum, said to be (without probability) coeval with his death. It has, however, neither date nor inscription to prove the truth or falsehood of the Dervish's assertion. The small river running at the foot of this building, which is called the Bellerau, it has been said flows immediately over the prophet's Tomb, and from the transparency of the water, his coffin was to be seen at the bottom ; but the Dervish and the natives whom I questioned, remembered no tradition corroborating such a fact ;—on the contrary, it has at all times been customary with the people of the country to resort hither on certain days of the month, when they offer up their prayers at the tomb I have mentioned, in supplication to the prophet's shade ; and by becoming his guests for the night, expect remission from all present grievances and an insurance

against those to come." Sir William Ouseley also delineates a remarkable stone preserved near the "Tomb of Daniel," amidst the ruins of Susa, which cover, according to Colonel Monteith, a space of sixteen or eighteen miles. This stone was at first not highly valued, but eventually the people subscribed nearly L. 1600, to be allowed to retain it as their talisman.

The following is *Abūlfeda's* article on Sus, taken from his "Tabulæ Iracæ, Chuzistānæ," &c. lately edited by Wüstenfeld (p. 26). *Es-Sus* est urbs Chuzistānæ, cui horti, ubi crescunt mala medica digitum longa. Dicit in el-Moschtareko; est urbs antiqua in Chuzistān, in qua sepulchrum Danielis, cui sit pax!" Quoting from *Abul-Rihān*, he says, that in Persian it is written with pointed Sin, شوش Shush.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VII.

The supposed Tomb of Cyrus (p. 206, 7.)—It has long been a *quæstio vexata* among geographers, whether Pasargādæ and Persepolis were really different places, or only different names for the same place. The former opinion has been maintained by a host of learned authorities, including *Cellarius* (in his *Geogr.*) *Salmasius* (in his *Exercitt. Plin.*), *Bochart* (in his *Phaleg.*), and more recently by *D'Anville*, *St. Croix*, *Rennel*, *Larcher*, &c. The latter opinion has the support of *Hoeck* (*Vet. Med. et Pers. Monum.*), *Sir William Ouseley* and others, who suppose that Persepolis is merely the Greek translation of the native name Pasargadæ. *Heeren* thinks Persepolis was an amplification of the original plan of the more ancient Pasargadæ, and in this has been followed by *Rosenmüller* in the present work.

The attention of scholars was eagerly revived to this subject on the publication of the first "Journey into Persia," of Mr. Morier (the well-known author of *Haji-Baba*), who proclaimed his discovery of the tomb of Cyrus in the plain of Mourgaub, about fifty miles from Persepolis; and as Arrian expressly mentions that Cyrus' tomb was at Pasargadæ, it would follow, on the supposition of the correctness of Morier's conjectures, that the long-sought for site of Pasargadæ had at length been found. See Morier's *First Journey*, p. 144. The building which he would identify with the tomb of Cyrus, is by the people of the country called قبر مادر سلیمان *Kubr Maderi*

Suleiman, i. e. the tomb of the mother of Solomon. One of the most intelligent of the earlier European travellers, Mandelsloe, a Dutchman, who visited Persia in the year 1638, thus describes it in his day. "Being forced to travel twelve leagues, through the mountains covered with snow, and that in very bad weather, we, with much ado, very late at night, reached the large and famous village of Mesched Maderi-Suleiman, so called from a sepulchre which is within half a league of it. This sepulchre is to be seen within a little chapel of white marble, the tomb itself being erected upon a high square of free-stone, upon which you may go up by steps on all sides. The air and rain has penetrated through the walls in several places; and divers pillars round the structure are almost consumed by time. Upon the walls of the chapel, I found in Arabian characters these words, Mader Suleiman. The general opinion of the inhabitants is, that this is the sepulchre of Solomon's mother: but the Carmelite friars at Schiraz informed me with much more probability, that the Mother of Shah Soliman, the fourteenth king of the posterity of Ali, was interred here. Elmacinus gives her the name of Wallada, and informs us that she was the daughter of Abbas Abbasesam. He tells us that this Soliman lived in the year 715."

The following is the more recent and detailed description by *Sir Robert K. Porter* (Travels, Vol. I. p. 498), who adopts the conclusions of Morier. "This interesting monument stands on an eminence not far from the foot of the hills that bound the plain to the south-west. A wide area, marked outwardly by the broken shafts of twenty-four circular columns, surrounds the building in a square shape. Each column is three feet three inches in diameter. Six complete each face of the square, distant from each other fourteen feet. Seventeen columns are still erect, but heaped round with rubbish, and barbarously connected with a wall of mud. Within this area stands the tomb. The great base on which it rests, is composed of immense blocks of the most beautiful white marble rising in steps; at the bottom of the lowest step two sides of the base measure forty feet; the other two

sides forty-four. It first rises five feet six inches, so forming the lowest step. The second begins two feet interiorly from the extreme edge of the first, rising three feet six inches, and receding one foot ten inches, at which point the third step rises three feet four inches and recedes one foot ten inches; the fourth step rises one foot eleven inches and recedes one foot ten inches; the fifth rises one foot ten inches and recedes one foot ten inches; the sixth rises and recedes in the same proportion, touching the walls of the tomb which stands on its platform. Thus a succession of gigantic steps completes, in a beautiful pyramidal shape, the pedestal of this royal tomb, majestic in its simplicity and vastness. At the base of the lowest step, a projection or sort of skirting-stone runs all round the foundation of the building, almost even with the ground above, and not striking very deep into it below; probably what was the ancient level of the earth.

The charge of this interesting place is given to the females of a neighbouring village, and none but that sex are permitted to enter the supposed repository of the remains of the mother of Suleiman. Two of these fair guardians, who were rather stricken in years, attended me to the building, and were very impatient at the length of my investigations; however, I would not be satisfied till I saw the interior; and with much difficulty I persuaded them to admit me. The door opens into the north-western side of the tomb; the whole width of the side being sixteen feet ten inches, of which measurement the entrance dividing it occupied two feet ten inches. The height of the door was exactly four feet. Four layers of stones composed the elevation of this superstructure. The first gave the sides of the entrance; the second served as its lintel; the third presented a simple projecting cornice; and what may be called the fourth, formed its pediment and sloping roof. Just over the door are two ledges, which, from their parallel, I should suppose held an inscription. When I entered, I found that the thickness of the walls was one solid single mass of stone, measuring five feet from the outside to within. The extent of the chamber was seven feet wide, ten long, and

eight in height. The floor was composed of two immense slabs, which joined nearly in the middle of the chamber, crossing it from right to left. But I lament to say that immediately opposite the door, both the floor and the wall are much injured by the several invaders of this ancient tomb. The marble surfaces are cruelly broken; and in the floor particularly deep holes are left, which plainly shew where large iron fastenings have been forcibly torn away. Doubtless their corresponding points attached some other mass to this quarter of the building, similar depredation being marked in the marble of the wall. I searched everywhere for some trace of a cuneiform inscription, but in vain; the place where most likely such a one would have been, if any existed within the tomb, is on the right of the entrance, where it has probably been obliterated, to make room for the present open scroll in the Saracenic taste. It is composed of a narrow sort of border, thickly ornamented with flowers and other involvements; and interwoven with this intricate line of work there are certainly Arabic characters, which I do not doubt forms the inscription that has been read *Mader-i-Suleiman*. It would have been useless for me to attempt copying it in the little time allowed me; the letters being so confused amongst the ornaments; and the female sentinels without, from their fear of surprise, making an incessant clamour for my egress. The lines which contain this inscription extend along the whole of that side of the wall. Some future traveller, I hope, may be allowed to copy it, whose intimate knowledge of the language would facilitate the achievement; it being a task of skill, as well as patience, to disentangle Arabic characters from the labyrinth of their ornaments.

Not a scratch of any other kind, save the cruel dents from the hammers of the barbarians, interrupted the even polish of the three remaining sides.

The roof is flat, and nearly black; so are the sides of the chamber, excepting that which faces the door; and that with the floor is perfectly white. Man has done all towards the mutilation of the monument; which, from the simplicity of its

form, and the solidity of its fabric, seemed calculated to withstand the accidents of nature till the last shock, when her existence would be no more."

The opinion of Morier was favourably received by various German scholars, including the learned *Ritter* (in his *Erdkunde*, Part II. 85), and by Professor *Grotefend*, one of the most successful decipherers of the cuneiform inscriptions. See his Supplement, No. V. to *Heeren's* work on Asia, Vol. I. Div. 1, p. 645. *Grotefend* interpreted an inscription at Mourgaub as signifying: "*Cyrus*, the king, ruler of the universe."

Saint Martin, however, has since endeavoured to shew, that it rather refers to Artaxerxes Ochus. He reads it thus:

Ada Houschousch Khschaehye Ouk-haabyschye.

Ochus, the Illustrious King.

See the *Journal Asiatique* for Feb. 1823. Other objections to Morier's views are drawn from the distance of the place from Persepolis, the comparatively modern style of the building, its difference from the one described by Arrian, &c. *Hoeck* thinks it the tomb of one of the Sassanian kings, the dynasty that ruled in Persia from the third to the middle of the seventh century. *Sir Wm. Ouseley* supposes a small square edifice, opposite the sculptured rock at Nakhshi Roustam, to have been the tomb of Cyrus. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

The Tomb of Darius Hystaspes (p. 209)—If the site of the tomb of Cyrus be still involved in obscurity, it is not so with respect to that of the greatest of his successors, Darius Hystaspes; for it has been proved, almost to demonstration, that he was buried in one of the great mountain sepulchres to be seen at Persepolis, the description of which by Sir R. K. Porter here follows: "The face of the mountain is almost a perpendicular cliff, continuing to an elevation of scarcely less than three hundred yards; the substance is a whitish kind of marble. In this have been cut the celebrated sculptures and excavations, so long the subjects of discussion with the traveller, the artist, and the antiquary. These singular relics of Persian greatness are placed very near each other, and are all

contained within the space of not quite the height of the mountain. Those highest on the rock are four; evidently intended for tombs, and as evidently of a date co-eval with the splendour of Persepolis. The range below vary in ability of execution; and are all in a very inferior taste to those above. These four sepulchres differ in no way exteriorly; hence we may suppose they vary as little within; and the description of one may generally describe them all. The one I examined consists of an excavation of about fourteen feet, cut into the solid rock, in a form something resembling a Greek cross. The upright division of it cannot be less than a hundred feet from end to end. The highest compartment is thickly sculptured with figures. The front of the tomb is ornamented by four round pilasters, distant from each other about seven feet, and as far from the caverned sides of the excavation. Their bases terminate by a toe on a plinth projecting from the face of the tomb one foot six inches. Their shafts are crowned by the double bulls I have before described; but a horn issues from the foreheads of these. Between the two centre pilasters is the entrance. The door frame is finely proportioned, with a curved projecting architrave nicely fluted, and divided into leaves. But the greater part of the apparent door is only marked like one; the entrance being confined to a square space of four feet six inches high in its lower compartment. The breadth in the rock, which the whole front occupies, is fifty-three feet.

The division above the front of the tomb is the excavation which contains the sculptured figures, and is cut in the way of a sort of frame inclosing them; the representation within consists of a double tier of fourteen figures, each in the style of caryatides, with their hands, raised over their heads, supporting two beautifully raised cornices. The figures are all habited the same in short tunics; some having their waist bound with a simple belt; and others with a dagger pending from it on the right hip; all are bare-headed, but the hair, being very bushy, has the appearance of a wig. These persons, with the cornice they support, form the face of a kind of elevated platform

something like our ancient table-tombs, but there is no comparison in the dimensions. Each side of the structure is finished by a pillar of very extraordinary shape. We may divide it into four parts; the base resembles an urn, on which rests the huge paw and limb of a lion descending from the columnar part of the pillar, which is fluted horizontally half-way up; and from its summit issues the head and shoulders of the unicorn bull, but without ornaments. The back of the neck unites it with the highest cornice, which forms the top of the structure, therefore the heads of the two bulls, which form the pillars at each end, rise higher than the plane they support.

On this plane stands a figure elevated on a pedestal of three steps. He is dressed in an ample robe flowing to his ancles; in his left-hand he holds a strong bow; his right-arm is stretched half out, with the hand quite open; bracelets are round the wrists, his head is bare, the hair bushy behind, and neatly curled, his beard falls to the breast. Opposite to him rises another pedestal of three steps; this is surmounted by an altar evidently charged with the sacred fire, a large flame of it appearing at the top, high over it to the right we see a globular shape, doubtless intended for the sun, of which the fire below was the object and the emblem. These altars always stood towards the east, that the worshipper might face the point whence the great source of light ascended; and we here find the orb in the same direction. Another figure floats aloft in the air, between the altar and the archimagus or high priest,^a (for such, it is probable, we may regard the man in the robe), appearing as if it had issued from the sun; it approaches the man from that point. This aerial personage, or rather perhaps divine intelligence, seems supported by something like a collection of sun-beams, thickly carved in waving, horizontal, and perpendicular lines interspersed with several divisions of narrow cloud-shaped masses of stone. The radiation is not circular, but forms three dis-

^a See the present Volume, p. 209, for *Heeren's* interpretation.

tinct collections of rays, pointing east and west and downwards; they diverge from a ring or hole, out of the midst of which rises the figure, it being entirely above this "beamy chariot" from the waist upwards. It is habited in a robe similar to that of the man on the pedestal, with the hair and beard in the same fashion; but the head is covered with a fluted crown; the left-hand holds a large and massy ring; the right is elevated and open as if in the act of admonition; a couple of bands, apparently the ends of his girdle, flow down through the circle and beams in which the figure appears; thus proving the aerial texture of the seeming vehicle. But when we compare its forms and the workmanship of its details, and its position with regard to its occupier, with the wings and finely wrought feathers of the bas-relief at Pasargadae, we can be in no doubt, from the entire difference between them, that the radii we have been describing, form a means of passing through the air totally distinct from the personage that uses it.

I have mentioned that this monumental elevation, with its altar and other appendages, is comprised within a square frame of stone; on the four exterior surfaces, at the front and the sides, we find figures three deep, stationed one above the other; those to the right of the altar, with their faces towards the back of the man on the pedestal, are clothed in robes similar to his; and they have bonnets on their wig-like hair, resembling in shape the crown on the head of the spiritual being described, but with the difference of not being fluted; these persons are armed with spears, there are three of them in a perpendicular line on the front of the western aspect of the frame; and six rank and file on the side. In the opposite direction, on that part of the frame which is to the left of the altar in the front, is a perpendicular line three deep of figures, in precisely the same sort of dress as the spearmen, with the difference of these having no weapons whatever. These also look towards the altar and appear as mourners, their left-hands being raised to their faces, holding a part of their garments as if wiping away their tears. Another line of figures is sculptured on

the side of the frame, to which the three mourners are the front ; but here only one in three is in a weeping attitude.

“ Having fully examined the exterior of the tombs, my next object was to penetrate their interior, an attempt of no little danger, as well as fatigue. There were no other means by which a stranger to these heights could reach them, but by the expedient of tying a rope round the waist, and some strong arms above hauling him upwards. I immediately looked out for assistants. My mehmandar was at his stories and forebodings again, for tempting such demon-wrought places. But the peasantry of this district seemed to know better, than to have fear of either *deev* or difficulty, and one of them, more active and sinewy than the rest, managed to scramble up the perpendicular cliff, like a rat hanging by a wall, and, gaining the ledge of the platform or vestibule to the tomb, he lowered down a rope, by which some of his nimble companions assisted themselves in ascending. I followed the example, by fastening the rope round my waist, and by their united exertions, was speedily drawn up to the place of rendezvous. The distance was sufficiently high from the ground, to give me time for thought ; and during my ascent, in a manner so totally dependent on the dexterity of others, I could not but recollect the fate of half a dozen kinsmen of Darius Hystaspes, who had all perished at once in the very same expedition. On this very spot, more than two thousand years ago, the catastrophe happened. Certainly being in any noted place, has a most amazing power in bringing two far distant points of time to meet ; at least in the mind that contemplates them. I should have read the history of this disaster at home, with almost as little concern, as if the people had never existed ; here I was on the spot where it happened, and the scene was realized ; the persons seemed present with me, and I shuddered for them, while I rejoiced in my own safety. To incur the least possible danger to myself and my assistants, I had selected the tomb that was nearest the ground, but even that was upwards of sixty feet above its level ; and I came off with not a few bruises, from hard knocks against the rock in my swinging ascent.

Having gained the platform, I made my entrance into the tomb by the opening in the lower compartment of the door, and through a depth between the rocky walls of two feet. I then found myself in a vaulted chamber, completely blackened all over by smoke of some kind, either from lamps or other fires ; the place was stifling and gloomy ; at its further extremity were three arched recesses, which occupy the whole length of the chamber ; each contains a trough-like cavity cut down into the rock, and covered with a stone of corresponding dimensions. Every one of these covers has been broken near the corners, evidently to give a view to the person who committed the mischief, of what the sarcophagus might contain. I had a light introduced into the whole three, by which I saw the remotest cranny, and all were alike, perfectly empty, not even any loose dust that might have witnessed some former mouldered inhabitant. If these covers have, at any time, been removed, they have been very carefully replaced. The length of the cave which forms the whole tomb, is thirty-four feet, its height nine ; each catacomb containing the deepened cavity for the body, is also nine feet from the top of its arch, to the bottom of the cavity ; the length of the sarcophagus cavity, is eight feet three inches, by five feet ; its depth, four feet four inches ; the rest of the height being contained in the bend of the arch. The open space of the chamber, between the catacombs and the door, is about five feet. The entrance had originally been closed by a block or blocks of stone, the deep holes being visible on each side, which received their pivots. I observed some vestiges within, of the mode of hanging so ponderous a security ; but the avidity of the spoilers for lead and iron, has injured every part where the objects of their cupidity could be wrenched away. The surface of the door as it appears without, is divided into five compartments ; the lower one is entirely taken away, being now quite open to the air, with a small part also of the second division broken off, which probably happened when the passage was forced. When we look on these violences committed on the last rest-

ing places of the great, we cannot but be sensible, that the humblest graves are the securest." *Travels*, Vol. I. p. 521.

Genuineness of the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah, (p. 253).—According to the narrative of Josephus, (*Antiqq.* XI. 1, 2), the resolution of Cyrus to restore Jerusalem was prompted by his perusal of the Prophecies of Isaiah, which relate to himself in chap. xlv. 28 ; xlv. 1.

In reference to this statement of Josephus, Rosenmüller thinks it enough to say, that in consequence of the researches of the last thirty-five years, it is now held to be established, that the second part of the Book of Isaiah (he means from chap. xl. inclusive, to the end), was not written by that prophet, but by some one who lived towards the end of the Babylonish exile. And, in proof of this, he refers to the arguments in the *proemium* to Vol. III. of his *Scholia on Isaiah*, 2d. Edit. and in *Gesenius Comment. on Isaiah*. Part II. p. 25, et seqq.

The opinion here alluded to, was first remotely hinted by *Koppe*, in the Notes to his German translation of Lowth on Isaiah, 1781. Being afterwards more broadly asserted by *Doederlein*, it was taken up and systematically defended by *Justi*, and has come to be so fixed a tenet in the creed of Neologians, that they speak of the *Pseudo-Isaiah*, with the same confidence as of the real one. Besides the German divines by whom this notion has been opposed, it was controverted by a Dutch writer, *Greve*, in his "*Ultima Capita Isaïæ*." Amst. 1810 ; and still more ably by the Dane, *J. U. Möller*, "*De Authentia oraculorum Iesaiæ*, chap. xl.—lxvi." *Havniæ* (Copenhag.) 1825. To review all the arguments would be foreign to our present purpose ; we merely give the answer to the objection which is drawn from the occurrence of the name of Cyrus, so long before his birth. Not having access to the original work of Möller, we shall exhibit the substance of his reply,^a in the language of *Hengstenberg* in his "*Christology*

^a The writer whom he chiefly combats, is Gesenius of Halle (in his *Transl. and Comment. of Isaiah*), who has been followed by *Hitzig* in his more recent work on that prophet. Heidelberg, 1833.

of the Old Testament." Comp. the Biblical Repository for 1831, p. 700, et seqq.

"But it is said, that if all other grounds of objection should signify nothing, still the mere mention of the name of Cyrus, chap. xlv. 28; xlv. 1, is a sufficient proof of spuriousness. The prophets are accustomed to describe the persons whose future appearance they announce by their qualities and characters; but never do they name their names."

We present, in answer to this objection, the following considerations. The name *Cyrus* is, with the greatest probability, an appellative, which was employed as the title of the Persian kings, just as Pharaoh was the title of the kings of Egypt, and Abimelech of the Philistine kings. In Greek writers,^a this name is everywhere explained by *the sun*, and

this correctly; since even to the present day the word خور in Persian signifies *the sun*.^b According to the accounts of Strabo, Agradatus, and according to Shickhard,^c Cyrus, before his accession to the throne, was called also by the surname کور; as was also a later Persian monarch Bahram.

When, therefore, Isaiah here predicts deliverance through *Koresh*, the prophecy is in no respect more definite than those of the first part (chap. xiii. 14, 21,) in which he foretells the destruction of the Babylonish monarchy by the Medes and Persians. That Cyrus afterwards usually bore this appellation, so that his own proper name was wholly superseded by it, took place in consequence of his great actions; he was called κατ' ἐξοχήν the great king! Through the special guidance of Divine Providence, Isaiah was led to employ this name; which he might have learned from Persian merchants,

^a *Ctesias*, *Plutarch* in *Artaxerxe*, l.

^b Comp. *Gesenius*, s. voce. *Von Bohlen*, *Symbol. ad Interp. Sac. Cod. ex Lingua Persica*. p. 20. *Reland de Vet. Lingua Persar.* p. 166, sq. [and the present vol. p. 251.]

^c *Tarich*, p. 123. See *Gesenius*, l. c.

or, according to Hensler, from Medes who served in Sennacherib's army.^a

Against these considerations the opponents have no solid argument to produce. But even if we grant that the name *Koresh* was really a proper name, and that there could be no other prophecy adduced, in which a later person was mentioned by name, still even this would afford no proof of spuriousness. For who shall prescribe to Jehovah the rule which he shall follow in his revelations? who will say that he shall never do that, which ordinarily he does not do? Just as he ordinarily revealed the future to the prophets, without any determination of the time, but in occasional instances pointed out definitely the number of years which should pass away between the prophecy and its fulfilment; so might he also in a single instance reveal the name of a future person who was to have an important influence upon the destinies of his kingdom. The mere mention of a future name surely does not pass more widely beyond the bounds of nature, than does the previous annunciation of any historical circumstance whatever, as in chap. xliv. 27.

But further, the assertion of the opponents, that not a single analogous case can be produced, is by no means correct. We have the same case in 1 Kings xiii. 2. There, a prophet foretells to Jeroboam, who had built an idolatrous altar, that a son should be born to the house of David, who will bear the name of Josiah, and he will offer upon the altar the priests of the high places who burn incense thereon. If then the name of Josiah is there mentioned more than 300 years before his existence, how can it surprise us to find here the name of Cyrus about 150 years before his appearance? Should, however, the opposers here undertake to say that the name of Josiah in the book of Kings is the mere gloss of a later interpolator, the assertion would be wholly an arbitrary one. In this way no proof whatever could be brought against them. But then also they must give up their appeal here to

^a Hensler's *Jesaias*, pp. 247, 363. *Jahn's Archaeol.* II. 2, p. 286.

the name of Cyrus. For what could they have to object, if we were to assert that the name of Cyrus in both these passages is also the gloss of a later interpolator? And although we are very far from doing this, still there would be in it nothing more arbitrary, than in the course which they thus take in regard to the Book of Kings, or in that by which they declare all the characteristic peculiarities which the second part has in common with the first, to be the work of a later assimilating hand."

The Identity of Xerxes with the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, (p. 261.)—"The Ahasuerus of Scripture cannot be Darius Hystaspes; nor do we trace the character of the mild and humane Artaxerxes Longimanus in the capricious despot, who repudiates his wife because she will not expose herself to the public gaze in a drunken festival; raises a favourite vizier to the highest honours one day, and hangs him the next; commands the massacre of a whole people, and then allows them, in self-defence, to commit a horrible carnage among his other subjects. Yet all this weak and headstrong violence agrees exactly with the character of that Xerxes, who commanded the sea to be scourged, because it brought down his bridge over the Hellespont; beheaded the engineers because their work was swept away by a storm; wantonly, and before the eyes of the father, put to death the sons of his oldest friend Pythias, who had contributed most splendidly to his expedition; shamefully misused the body of the brave Leonidas; and, after his defeat, like another Sardanapalus, gave himself up to such voluptuousness, as to issue an edict, offering a reward to the inventor of a new pleasure. The synchronisms remarked by Eichhorn, strongly confirm this view. In the *third* year of his reign Ahasuerus summons a divan of all the great officers of the kingdom at Susa, whom he entertains and banquets 180 days. In his *third* year Xerxes, at a great assembly, deliberates and takes measures for the subjugation of Greece. In his *seventh* year (B. C. 479,) Ahasuerus marries Esther. In his *seventh* year Xerxes

returns discomfited to Susa, and abandons himself to the pleasures of his harem. The imbecile facility with which Xerxes, according to Herodotus, first gave up to his seductive mistress Artyanta, a splendid robe, the present of his queen; and then having made a rash promise at a banquet, yielded up the wife of his brother Masistes (the mother of his mistress,) to the barbarous vengeance of his queen; so precisely resembles the conduct of Ahasuerus that it is impossible not to suspect we are reading of the same person in the Grecian and Hebrew annalist. The similarity of the names of Amestris, wife of Xerxes, and Esther is likewise observable." *Milman's History of the Jews*, Vol. II. p. 16. The points in the character of Xerxes, which present a counterpart to those described in the Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, will be found illustrated in the following ancient authors: *Herodot.* VII. 7, 33-37; *Strabo*, XIV. 634; *Cicero*, *Tusc.* V. 7; *Justin*, II. 12; *Valer. Max.* IX. 1.

According to *Usher*, followed by *Calmet*, *Rollin*, &c., the royal husband of Esther was Darius Hystaspes; according to *Petavius*, *Prideaux*, *Hales* and others, it was Artaxerxes Longimanus; but the opinion above stated which identifies him with Xerxes, is now generally adopted, at least among continental scholars.^a It is as old as the days of *Scaliger* (*Emend. Tempor.* VI.), and has been supported by *Viringa* in his *Hypotyp. Chronol.*, by *Eichhorn* and *Bertholdt* in their *Introductions to the Old Testament*, and specially by *Justi* in the monograph cited by Rosenmüller at p. 261.

The Etymology of "Satrap," (p. 263.)—This is the only Persian name or title, respecting the derivation of which Rosenmüller is silent. The word ستراب says he, does occur in Persian Dictionaries, but, it is marked "obsolete." Sir John Malcolm thinks he has discovered the etymology

^a *Kelle* is an exception, in his *Vindic. Esth.* Freiberg, 1820. He believes Ahasuerus to have been the same with Artaxerxes Longimanus.

in "Chattrapati," i. e. *Lord of the umbrella*, which is still the title of one of the highest officers of state among the Mahrattas. "Chattr" signifies an umbrella both in Sanscrit and Persic, and "pa" (a contraction of "pati") though lost in the modern Persic, is preserved in Sanscrit in the sense of "Lord." Now, the right to bear the umbrella (or rather the parasol) is a well-known distinction of dignity and mark of authority throughout the East. That it anciently prevailed in Persia is manifest from the Persepolitan sculptures representing royalty, where that sort of shade is uniformly held over the king. Comp. Ps. cxxi. 5. "The umbrella," says Ali Bey, "is a distinguishing sign of the sovereign of Morocco. Nobody but himself, his sons, and his brothers, dare make use of it." It is, or once was, a title of the king of Ava, "Lord of the twenty-four umbrellas." China and Turkey seem to be the only eastern countries where it has descended to the common people; but in the latter, every one is still obliged to lower his umbrella on passing the residence of the Sultan. As to the south of Arabia, Niebuhr gives the following account of a solemn procession of the Imam, who then resided at Sana, and was considered as a holy personage, being descended from Mohammed. "It is well known that the Sultan at Constantinople goes every Friday to the mosque, if his health will at all admit of it. The Imam of Sana observes also this religious practice with vast pomp. We only saw him in his return, because this was represented to us as the most curious part of the solemnity, on account of the long circuit he then takes, and the great number of his attendants. The Imam was preceded by some hundreds of soldiers. He, and each of the princes of his numerous family, caused a *Medalla*, or large umbrella, to be carried by his side, and it is a privilege which in this country is appropriated to princes of the blood, just as the Sultan of Constantinople permits none but his vizier to have his *Haik*, or gondola, covered behind to keep him from the heat of the sun. They say that in the other provinces of Yemen, the indepen-

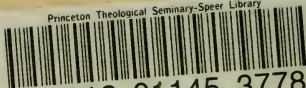
dent lords, such for example, as the sheiks of Jafa, and those of Hashid-n-Bekil, the scherife of Abu-Arish and many others, cause their *Medallas* in like manner to be carried for their use, as a mark of their independence." Travels, Vol. II. p. 410 of the English Translation.

END OF VOL. I.

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